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ABSTRACT

Designed as a guide to teaching an introductory course in creative conflict resolution for adults and teenagers in school and community settings, this resource manual describes active, experiential learning activities. The alternatives to violence course is structured into twenty 45-minute units (a total of 15 hours). Sessions 1-3 examine kinds of violence, the nature of violence, and institutional violence. Session 4 deals with basic responses to conflict and historical cases of nonviolent action. Sessions 5-7 focus on the development of nonviolent alternatives, including active listening, group facilitation and consensus, and negotiation and leadership. Session 8 explores differences between violence and nonviolence and session 9 examines elementary skills necessary for active nonviolent self-defense. Sessions 10-12 deal with confronting violence, alternatives to violence on the community level, and problem solving. In session 13, students apply concepts and skills for interpersonal and community conflict resolution to global problems. A session on nonviolent national defense (session 14) is followed by a session promoting nonviolence as a philosophy or lifestyle. Sessions 16 and 17 relate personal lifestyles to global conflict resolution through problem-solving exercises involving current events. In sessions 18 and 19, students learn to influence the U.S. political system through effective letter-writing and steps toward global nonviolence are discussed. A course evaluation sheet is presented in the final session. The manual concludes with a bibliography, glossary, description of games, and a list of conflict scenarios. (LH)

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ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

A Manual for Teaching Peacemaking to Youth and Adults

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This manual is the product of many years' work by many different people. We are grateful for the help of each one. In addition, we acknowledge the generous support of the Peace Development Fund, a public foundation based in Amherst, Massachusetts.

INTRODUCTION

This is a resource manual for people who will facilitate Alternatives to Violence (ATV) workshops. As you use this material and lead ATV workshops, please give us your comments and your suggestions about this manual; we welcome your feedback.

Alternatives to Violence is an introductory course in creative conflict resolution for adults and teenagers. It involves active, experiential learning; and it works best when the facilitator can tailor the course to the needs of the particular group involved, incorporating participants' ideas and feedback as the course proceeds.

The course is structured in twenty 45-minute units (totalling fifteen hours) for maximum adaptability. The goals of ATV are:

- -to increase participants' understanding of the sources and forms of violence;
- -to increase awareness of the many creative, nonviolent alternatives which exist for dealing with conflicts from the interpersonal to the international level;
- -to give participants' enough background, confidence, and basic skills to use nonviolent methods of conflict resolution in their own lives.

Alternatives to Violence fits well into many school and community settings. It has been used successfully in a wide variety of situations--public and private schools from ninth grade through college, community centers, and religious groups. The project offers staff and teacher training workshops of varying lengths, as well as short introductory sessions for groups considering using the course.

The methods we use in teaching this course are very important: we will teach far more by the way we act (process) than by what we say (content). Affirmation of the worth of every participant is crucial. Our methods must not be merely non-oppressive; they must be flexible, open, and responsive to all. Sitting in a circle, for example, is an essential tool as well as a statement of the fully equal worth of each group member. The more participants' can "direct" the activities, the better. Examples from participants' own lives, shared in journals and in class sessions, are far more effective cases to study than those provided here. In general, the more sharing that goes on, the better. The following ground rules have proved helpful to many teachers in encouraging non-violent class process:

- -everyone participates;
- -everyone has the right to "pass" if s/he wishes (that is, to watch and listen, rather than take part in a given activity or discussion);
- -no put-downs--everyone respects everyone else's opinions.

(introduction, continued)

Most of the actual learning of alternatives to violence takes place between classes. This is the time when participants can think about, write about, and try out new ideas and techniques in their own situations. Time at each stage for reading, journal writing, project work, and practice provides necessary reinforcement and continuity for the material. Because of this, it is better to hold shorter sessions one, two, or three times a week than to crowd fewer long sessions into a short time period. No matter how long or short the sessions, active, community-building activities--and just plain fun--are just as necessary to learning as theory, structure, and information. Appendix 1 includes a selection of quick, non-violent games which can be used frequently to build community and to add variety to class sessions. Creative alternatives to violence are most apt to be born in a warm, enjoyable, supportive atmosphere. You will be likely to need the following equipment:

- -a quiet room to meet in, in which the chairs can be moved easily;
- -a chalkboard and chalk, or easel with newsprint pad and markers;
- -packets of readings and paper for each participant;
- -a screen with 16mm. film projector (especially for Session 2) and
- -a carousel slide projector and cassette tape player (Session 13);
- -diagrams and charts from this manual copied on chalkboard or newsprint;
- -a hat (Session 5);
- -a set of cards, each describing one of the "Power and Peacemaking" roles (Session 6);
- -a world map (Sessions 13 & 14);
- -current newspapers, magazines, and/or extra readings specific to the philosophy of the institution in which the workshop is being held (Sessions 15-17);
- -at least $5,850 in play money, at least 20 equal-sized items of food (or food symbols) and a roll of masking tape (Session 16);
- -(optional) letter paper, pens, envelopes, and stamps (Session 18).

When you use this manual, we ask that you:

- -acknowledge the source of the materials (ATV);
- -provide us with feedback (What are you using? How? Suggestions? Additions?);
- -stay in touch so we can send you updates and new material;
- -reimburse us when possible (buy the course material from us, make a donation, and so forth)--Alternatives to Violence is supported by earmarked donations to the Cleveland Friends Meeting (Quakers).

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ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE CURRICULUM SYLLABUS

In Twenty 45-Minute Sessions--15 Hours Total

1. KINDS OF VIOLENCE
   Goals: A. To explore the different kinds of violence by sharing personal experiences.
   B. To understand the difference between conflict and violence.
   C. To start personal journals or other projects in which we can explore conflict resolution individually.
2. THE SPIRAL OF VIOLENCE
   Goal: To experience the nature of violence by viewing and responding to films.
3. INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE
   Goals: A. To explore some sources and causes of violence.
   B. To continue sharing our needs and expectations for this course individually and as a group.
   Reading: "Nonviolence: Cornerstone for a World House" (M.L. King)
4. RESPONSES TO CONFLICT
   Goals: A. To consider how we respond to conflict as individuals.
   B. To analyze basic responses to conflict and see how they are related to active nonviolence.
   C. To discuss historical cases of nonviolent action which confirm the practicality of nonviolence.
   Reading: "How Do You Usually Handle Conflicts?" (B. Stanford)
   Cases #4. A-G.
5. ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE SKILLS: ACTIVE LISTENING
   Goal: To develop skill in active, nonviolent listening.
6. ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE SKILLS: GROUP FACILITATION AND CONSENSUS
   Goals: A. To understand the process of decision-making by consensus.
   B. To develop skill in directing a group discussion toward consensus.
   Reading: "Power and Peacemaking"
7. ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE SKILLS: NEGOTIATION AND LEADERSHIP
   Goals: A. To develop negotiation skills.
   B. To become aware of ourselves as leaders and followers.
   C. To explore the nature of power as it is used both violently and nonviolently.
8. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN VIOLENCE AND NONVIOLENCE
   Goals: A. To explore the differences in goals, attitudes, techniques, and effects of violent and nonviolent behavior.
   B. To become aware of how anger can be used violently and nonviolently.
   C. To examine the role of sexism in both violence and nonviolence.
   Reading: "Differences Between Violence and Nonviolence"
9. ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE SKILLS: NONVIOLENT SELF DEFENSE
   Goals: To develop the elementary skills necessary for active nonviolent self defense.
   Reading: Cases #9. A-H.
10. CONFRONTING VIOLENCE AROUND US
   Goal: To apply the principles of active nonviolence to situations in which we are not directly involved.
   Reading: Cases #10. A-F.
11. ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE ON THE COMMUNITY LEVEL
   Goals: A. To link personal conflict resolution to participation in community affairs.
   B. To learn to recognize and confront violence in our communities.
   Reading: Cases #11. A-G.

(Syllabus, continued)

12. ZEROING IN ON A PROBLEM
    Goals: A. To build each participant's confidence in employing alternatives to violence in resolving conflicts.
    B. To continue to build a sense of community within the group by working toward resolution of a shared conflict.
    Reading: Cases #12. A-E.
13. ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE ON THE GLOBAL LEVEL
    Goal: To apply concepts and skills for interpersonal and community conflict resolution to global problems.
14. NONVIOLENT NATIONAL DEFENSE
    Goals: A. To address honestly our personal attitudes toward national security.
    B. To explore creative methods of nonviolent civilian national defense.
    Reading: Cases #14. A-F.
    "Disregarded History" (G. Sharp)
15. NONVIOLENCE AS A PHILOSOPHY OR A LIFESTYLE
    Goals: A. To learn about various nonviolent philosophies.
    B. To consider individually nonviolence as it relates to our own philosophies of life.
    Reading: Cases #15. A-F.
    "Readings on Pacifism"
16. CHANGE MY LIFE?
    Goals: A. To become more aware of the relationship between our own lifestyles and global conflict resolution.
    B. To learn ways of affecting global conflicts with our own lives.
    Reading: "The Various Uses of Nonviolence"
17. NONVIOLENCE AND CURRENT EVENTS
    Goal: To gain insight and skill in creative nonviolence through problem-solving exercises involving current events.
    Reading: Recent news articles pertaining to violence and/or nonviolence.
18. SYSTEM NOT WORKING? OR NOT WORKING THE SYSTEM?
    Goals: A. To understand the importance of actively seeking alternatives to violence.
    B. To learn how to influence the U.S. political system through effective letter-writing.
    Reading: Case #18. A.
    "How to Write to Members of Congress and the President" and "How to Write a Letter to the Editor"
19. IMAGING A WORLD WITHOUT WEAPONS
    Goals: A. To imagine how our world would look without weapons.
    B. To discuss what steps we each can take toward moving the world away from violence.
    Reading: Case #19. A.
20. CELEBRATION
    Goals: A. To evaluate the course and make suggestions for improving it.
    B. To celebrate our friendship and our growth in nonviolent living.
    Reading: Review course readings
    Fill out evaluation sheet

SESSION 1: KINDS OF VIOLENCE

Goals: 1. To explore different kinds of violence through the sharing of personal experiences.
2. To understand the difference between conflict and violence.
3. To start personal journals or other projects in which we can explore conflict resolution.

Materials: A packet of readings for each participant
Chalk and chalkboard OR newsprint, easel and markers — for all sessions

Plan:

A. Participants (including facilitator) form a circle and introduce themselves. NOTE: A list of games for learning names and building community is in Appendix 1. State ground rules for all sessions: (10)

Everyone participates.
Everyone has the right to "pass" if s/he wishes (that is, to watch and listen rather than take part in a given activity or discussion).
No put-downs--everyone honors and respects everyone else's opinions.

B. Introduce the course briefly: goals, what to expect, and so forth. (10)

The object of this course is not to "make" anyone here nonviolent, but rather to show you some options you may not have known about, so that you can choose for yourselves in any given situation. We encourage skepticism and questions.

Violence is more than just physical hurting: it is the deprivation of any basic human need. It is not necessary that we all consider violence to be "bad" in all situations.

Quick question: what is the difference between violence and conflict? (--Conflict happens all the time; nothing can or should prevent it. In this course, we will explore different ways of responding to conflicts in our own lives.)

Go around the circle, asking each person to describe, in a word or a phrase, a kind of violence which s/he is particularly concerned about. Write all of these responses on the board or easel.

(Session 1, continued)

C. Help participants to group the words and phrases into categories they choose and define together. Be ready to suggest the following categories and offer examples, if necessary: personal/community global levels, physical/psychological/institutional forms. Discuss: (5-10)

What types of violence seem to be accepted

-by most of us as individuals?
-by our school (or other institution)?
-by our society as a whole?

D. Ask participants to pair off and share two things with their partners: (5-10)

-a personal experience in which violence was a factor.
-what you would most like to get out of this course.

E. Quick reportbacks: (5)

What concerns were most important to each of us? What do we want to work on together? What do we want to accomplish? We will continue feedback on goals in the next session; feedback is always welcome.

NOTES:

The numbers in parentheses in the right hand margin suggest approximate time in minutes for that section.

Indented sections indicate what the facilitator(s) need to say to the group.

Often if the manual has the facilitator(s) asking a question, an answer to that question is included in parentheses.

No individual facilitator is expected to follow this (or any) plan verbatim. Try to meet each session's general goals in a manner appropriate to the particular group involved. When you try something new and it is successful, please write it down and send it to the ATV office so that it can be shared with other facilitators.

SESSION 2: THE SPIRAL OF VIOLENCE

Goal: To experience the nature of violence for ourselves by viewing and responding to films.

Materials: Movie projector, extension cord, and screen
Hiroshima-Nagasaki: August, 1945 (film)
Neighbors (film) OPTIONAL

Plan:

Optional Section: (15)

Use this film whenever time permits, especially with younger groups. Introduce the session briefly:

> Today we will see the film Neighbors because it demonstrates very clearly one important fact about violence: Violence tends to escalate.

Show Neighbors (12 minutes).

A. Form a circle and do a quick warm-up game together (see Appendix 1 for a list of games). (5)

B. Define and discuss escalation--the spiral of violence. (5)

> Because it is true that violence tends to escalate, we must see all the violence done in the world in a new context: the possibility of nuclear war exists at all times. The United States is the only country in the world to have used nuclear weapons, although other countries have threatened to do so. Each of us needs to understand, to the extent that we can without having been its victims, what nuclear war is. This is why we have decided to show this film, even though it is not easy to look at.
>
> Because the focus of this course is on alternatives to violence, it makes sense to use an example of violence that we in this room--because the United States is a democracy--could do something about if we chose to.
>
> Now we will view the film Hiroshima-Nagasaki: August, 1945. It is not fiction--it is true: it was put together from film taken in the two Japanese cities within three weeks after the nuclear attacks.
>
> Please jot down your responses and questions as you watch the film. No response is "right" or "wrong." We will discuss our responses later in this session.

(Session 2, continued)

C. Show Hiroshima-Nagasaki: August, 1945 (17 minutes). (20-25)
Discuss people's responses to the film. The discussion need not be formal; it is more important to help and support people who are upset.

Here are some questions for discussion:

> How does this movie make you feel? Why do you think these bombings occurred? What is meant by "the spiral of violence" ("escalation of violence")? Do you think a nuclear war is possible in the world today? Would the U.S. ever take part in one? Start one? How do you feel about this possibility? What does nuclear war have to do with alternatives to violence in our personal lives?

D. Discuss the main writing assignment of the course, the conflict journal. Other projects may be substituted for the journal for people who do not wish to write. Emphasize that the journal is a very important part of the learning process: (5-10)

> The object is to relate your own thoughts and experiences to what happens in the Alternatives To Violence workshop and to consider ideas from ATV in terms of your own experience and opinions. It is important to ask what, why, and how as you analyze your experiences. Please remember to bring your journal to each ATV session.

Provide some writing time in class so the students can begin to explore the discussion questions from section B, above. At the end of the session, collect the journals, even if people have only begun to write. Read them before the next session; provide positive feedback and further questions for exploration (written) when you return them to their owners.

E. Make assignments for the next session:
   1. Reading.
   2. Suggested questions to address in journals:
      a. What do you think are your and everybody else's basic human needs and rights?
      b. What do you feel is the relationship between human needs (or rights) and alternatives to violence?

SESSION 3: WHAT IS INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE?

Goals: 1. To explore some sources and causes of violence.
2. To continue sharing our own needs and our expectations for this course.

Materials: OPTIONAL audio-visual aids--IF extra time is available (see optional section below).

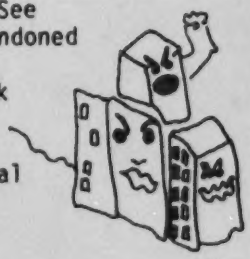
Reading due: "Nonviolence: Cornerstone for a World House" (M.L. King)

Plan:

A. Form a circle and discuss: (15)

What is conflict? (--a problem or disagreement.) What causes conflict? (--perceived or real deprivation of basic needs.) What have you listed as your and everybody else's basic human rights or needs? What is the difference between a "right" and a "need"? What happens when people are deprived of rights or needs?

Ask the group to define institutional violence. (--situations in which someone in a society uses their institutionalized power to deprive other people of their rights or needs, intentionally or unintentionally. See the Glossary and Session 11. Tends to be tacitly condoned and/or ignored by a sizeable segment of our society. Racism is an example of institutional violence.) Ask the group:



Are these situations just as "violent" as physical types of violence? Why? Name some examples of institutional violence in our community. What happens in these situations if the violence is confronted violently? nonviolently?

B. Divide into groups of four or five persons. Ask members of each group to take turns sharing their thoughts on institutional violence and how it affects them. (15)

When have you been a victim of institutional violence (treated unfairly as women, young people, workers, people of color, and so on)? How did it feel?

Have groups report the main points from their discussions back to the whole group.

C. Ask the group: (10)

How does what we have covered so far fit in with your expectations for the course? What are you most interested in discussing during our time together?

(Session 3, continued)

(C) List people's ideas and suggestions on the board or easel. Discuss how they can fit into the time remaining in the course. (In some situations, the number of weeks or sessions may be negotiated.) Mention a variety of learning methods (for example, small versus large group, active exercises versus discussion) as well as subject matter.

D. Make assignments for next session:
   1. Reading.
   2. Questions to answer in journals:
      a. What are the sources of violence?
      b. What relationship do I have to these sources (problems) in my life?
   3. OPTIONAL. Have small groups of volunteers read and prepare to role play (act out) cases for session 4. Give one case to each group of two to four persons.

Optional Section:

The concept of institutional violence may be a new one to many in the group. Present a film or other audio-visual aid that deals with the extent to which institutional violence is part of our lives. The film Controlling Interest is one possibility. This section requires extra time and should not be substituted for some other part of session 3.

Nonviolence: Cornerstone for a World House

Martin Luther King's Nobel Peace Prize Lecture
delivered in Oslo, Norway, December 11, 1964

This evening I would like to use this lofty and historic platform to discuss what appears to me to be the most pressing problem confronting mankind today. Modern man has brought this whole world to an awe-inspiring threshold of the future. He has reached new and astonishing peaks of scientific success. He has produced machines that think and instruments that peer into the unfathomable ranges of interstellar space. He has built gigantic ridges to span the seas and Gargantuan buildings to kiss the skies. His airplanes and space ships have dwarfed distance, placed time in chains and carved highways through the atmosphere. This is a dazzling picture of modern man's scienfific and technological progress . . .

Yet, in spite of these spectacular strides in science and technology, and still unlimited ones to come, something basic is missing. There is a sort of poverty of the spirit which stands in glaring contrast to our scientific and technological abundance. The richer we have become materially, the poorer we have become morally and spiritually. We have learned to fly the air like birds and swim the sea like fish, but we have not learned the simple art of living together as brothers.

So much of modern life can be summarized in that arresting dictum of the poet Thoreau, "Improved means to an unimproved end." This is the serious predicament, the deep and haunting problem confronting modern man. If we are to survive today, our moral and spiritual "lag" must be eliminated. Enlarged material powers spell enlarged peril if there is not proportionate growth of the soul.

The problem of spiritual and moral lag, which constitutes modern man's chief dilemma, expresses itself in three larger problems which flow out of man's ethical infantilism. Each of these problems, while appearing to be separate and isolated, is inextricably bound to the other. I refer to *racial injustice, poverty, and war.*

The first problem that I would like to mention is racial injustice. The struggle to eliminate the evil of racial injustice constitutes one of the major struggles of our time. ". . .We live in a day," says the philosopher Alfred North Whitehead, "when civilization is shifting in its basic outlook: a major turning point in history where the presuppositions on which society is structured are being analyzed, sharply challenged, and profoundly changed." What we are seeing now is a freedom explosion, the realization of "an idea whose time has come," to use Victor Hugo's phrase . . . All over the world, like a fever, the freedom movement is spreading in the widest liberation in history. The great masses of people are determined to end the exploitation of their races and land . . .These developments should not surprise any student of history. Oppressed peopled cannot remain oppressed forever. The yearning for freedom eventually manifests itself . . .

Fortunately, some significant strides have been made in the struggle to end the long night of racial injustice. We have seen the magnificent drama of independence unfold in Asia and Africa. Just thirty years ago there were only three independent nations in the whole of Africa. But today thirty-five African nations have risen from colonial bondage. In the United States we have witnessed the gradual demise of the system of racial segregation . . .

Let me not leave you with a false impression. The problem is far from solved. We still have a long, long way to go before the dream of freedom is a reality for the Negro in the United States . . .What the main sections of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States are saying is that the demand for dignity, equality, jobs and citizenship will not be abandoned or diluted or postponed. If that means resistance and conflict, we shall not flinch. We shall not be moved. We are no longer afraid.

The word that symbolized the spirit and the outward form of our encounter is *nonviolence*, and it is doubtless that factor which made it seem appropriate to award a peace prize to one identified with struggle. Broadly speaking, nonviolence in the civil rights struggle has meant not relying on arms and weapons of struggle. It has meant noncooperation with systems and laws which are institutional aspects of a regime of discrimination and enslavement. It has meant direct participation of masses in protest, rather than reliance on indirect methods which frequently do not involve masses in action at all.

Nonviolence has also meant that my people in the agonizing struggles of recent years have taken suffering upon themselves instead of inflicting it on others. It has meant, as I said, that we are no longer afraid and cowed. But in some substantial degree it has meant that we do not want to instill fear in others or into the society of which we are a part. The Movement does not seek to liberate Negroes at the expense of the humiliation and enslavement of whites. It seeks no victory over anyone. It seeks to liberate American society and to share in the self-liberation of all people.

Violence as a way of achieving racial justice is both impractical and immoral. I am not unmindful of the fact that violence often brings about momentary results. Nations have frequently won their independence in battle. But in spite of temporary victories, violence never brings permanent peace. It solves no social problem. It merely creates new and more complicated ones. Violence is immoral because it thrives on hatred rather than love. Violence is impractical because it is a descending spiral ending in destruction for all. It is immoral because it seems to humiliate the opponent rather than win his understanding; it seeks to annihilate rather than convert. It destroys community and makes brotherhood impossible. It leaves society in monologue rather than dialogue. Violence ends up defeating itself. It creates bitterness in the survivors and brutality in the destroyers.

In a real sense, nonviolence seeks to redeem the spiritual and moral lag that I spoke of earlier as the chief dilemma of modern man. It seeks to secure moral ends through moral means. Nonviolence is a powerful and just weapon. Indeed, it is a weapon unique in history, which cuts without wounding and ennobles the one who wields it.

I believe in this method because I think it is the only way to re-establish a broken community. It is the method which seeks to implement the just law by appealing to the conscience of the great decent majority who through blindness, fear, pride, and irrationality have allowed their consciences to sleep.

The nonviolent resisters can summarize their message in the following simple terms: we will take direct action against injustice despite the failure of governmental and other official agencies to act first. We will not obey unjust laws nor submit to unjust practices. We will do this peacefully, openly, cheerfully because our aim is to persuade. We adopt the means of nonviolence because our end is a community of peace with itself. We will try to persuade with our words, but if our words fail, we will try to persuade with our acts. We will always be willing to talk and seek fair compromise; but we are ready to suffer when necessary end even risk our lives to become witnesses to truth as we see it.

This approach to the problem of racial injustice is not at all without successful precedent. It was used in a magnificent way by Mohandas K. Gandhi to challenge the might of the British Empire and free his people from the political domination and economic exploitation inflicted upon them for centuries. He struggled only with the weapons of truth, soul force, noninjury and courage.

In the past ten years unarmed gallant men and women of the United States have

given living testimony to the moral power and efficacy of nonviolence. By the thousands, faceless, anonymous, relentless young people, black and white, have temporarily left the ivory towers of learning for the barricades of bias. Their courageous and disciplined activities have come as a refreshing oasis in a desert sweltering with the heat of innjustice. They have taken our whole nation back to those great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in the formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. One day all of America will be proud of their achievements. . .

A second evil which plagues the modern world is that of poverty. Like a monstrous octopus, it projects its nagging prehensile tentacles in lands and villages all over the world. Almost two-thirds of the people of the world go to bed hungry at night. They are undernourished, ill-housed and shabbily clad. Many of them have no houses or beds to sleep in. Their only beds are the sidewalks of the cities and the dusty roads of the villages. . .

In a sense the poverty of the poor in America is more frustrating than the poverty of Africa and Asia. The misery of the poor in Africa and Asia is shared misery, a fact of life for the vast majority; they are all poor together as result of years of exploitation and underdevelopment. In sad contrast, the poor in America know that they live in the richest nation in the world, and that even though they are perishing on a lonely island of poverty, the are surrounded by a vast ocean of material prosperity.

So it is obvious that if man is to redeem his spiritual and moral "lag" he must go all out to bridge the social and economic gulf between the "haves" and the "have nots" of the world. Poverty is one of the most urgent items on the agenda of modern life.

Not many years ago, Dr. Kirtley Mayher, a Harvard geologist, wrote a book entitled *Enough and to Spare*. He set forth the basic theme that famine is wholly unnecessary in the modern world. Today, therefore, the question on the agenda must read, why should there be hunger and privation in any land, in any city, at any table, when man has the resources and the scientific know-how to provide all mankind with the basic necessities of life. . .

The time has come for an all-out world war against poverty. The rich nations must use their vast resources of wealth to develop the underdeveloped, school the unschooled, and feed the unfed. Ultimately, a great nation is a compassionate nation. . . In the final analysis, the rich must not ignore the poor because both rich and poor are tied in a single garment of destiny. All life is interrelated, and all men are interdependent. The agony of the poor diminishes the rich, and the salvation of the poor enlarges the rich. We are inevitably our brother's keeper because of the interrelated structure of reality.

A third great evil confronting our world is that of war. Recent events have vividly reminded us that nations are not reducing but rather increasing their arsenals of weapons of mass destruction. The best brains in the highly developed nations of the world are devoted to military technology. . .

The fact that most of the time human beings put the truth about the nature and risks of the nuclear war out of their minds because it is too painful and therefore not "acceptable" does not alter the nature and risks of such war. The device of "rejection" may temporarily cover up anxiety, but it does not bestow peace of mind and emotional security.

Wisdom born of experience should tell us that war is obsolete. There may have been a time when war served as a negative good by preventing the spread and growth of an evil force, but the destructive power of modern weapons eliminated even the possibility that war may serve as a negative good. If we assume that life is worth living and that man has a

right to survive, then we must find an alternative to war. President John F. Kennedy said on one occasion, "Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind. . ."

There I venture to suggest to all of you, and all who hear and may eventually read these words, that the philosophy and strategy of nonviolence become immediately a subject for study and for serious experimentation in every field of human conflict, by no means excluding the relations between nations . . .Somehow we must transform the dynamics of the world power struggle from the negative nuclear arms race, which no one can win, to a positive contest to harness man's creative genius for the purpose of making peace and prosperity a reality for all the nations of the world. . .

All that I have said boils down to the point of affirming that mankind's survival is dependent upon man's ability to solve the problems of racial injustice, poverty and war; the solution of these problems is in turn dependent upon man squaring his moral progress with his scientific progress and learning the practical art of living in harmony. Some years ago a famous novelist died. Among his papers was found a list of suggested story plots for future stories, the most prominently underscored being this one: "A widely separated family inherits a house in which they have to live together. . . " black and white, Easterners and Westerners, Gentiles and Jews, Catholics and protestants, Moslems and Hindus, a family unduly separated in ideas, culture and interests who, because we can never again live without each other, must learn, somehow, in this one big world, to live with each other. . .

The stability of the large world house which is ours will involve a revolution of values to accompany the scientific and freedom revolutions engulfing the world. We must rapidly begin the shift from a "thing" -oriented society to a "person"-oriented society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, materialism and militarism are incapable of being conquered. A civilization can flounder as readily in the face of moral and spiritual bankruptcy as it can through financial bankruptcy. . .

[A] positive revolution of values is our best defense against Communism. War is not the answer. Communism will never be defeated by the use of atomic bombs or nuclear weapons. . .We must not engage in a negative anti-Communism, but rather in a positive thrust for democracy, realizing that our greatest defense against Communism is to take offensive action in behalf of justice. We must with affirmative action seek to remove those conditions of poverty, insecurity and injustice which are the fertile soil in which the seed of Communism grows and develops.

Our only hope today lies in our ability to recapture the revolutionary spirit (which brought the first settlers to America) and go out into a sometimes hostile world declaring eternal opposition to poverty, racism and militarism.

SESSION 4: HOW DO WE RESPOND TO CONFLICT?

Goals: 1. To analyze basic responses to conflict and see how they are related to active nonviolence.
2. To consider how we respond to conflict as individuals.
3. To analyze historical cases of nonviolent action which confirm the practicality of nonviolence.

Materials: Diagram on responses to conflict (on easel or board).
Cases for this session (in packets or to be handed to participants).

Reading due: "How Do You Ususally Handle Conflicts?" (B. Stanford)
Cases # 4. A-G.

Plan:

A. Conflict fantasy: (5-10)

Close your eyes for a minute. Picture someone with whome you feel you are having a conflict. Picture this person coming toward you. Picture her/his actions...your actions...and the outcome.

Briefly discuss, in pairs if the group wishes, what happened in the fantasies and how participants felt. It is not necessary to describe exactly what happened in individuals' fantasies. Ask them to tell what alternative actions they considered, how they would like to have responded, and why.

B. Construct chart (on easel or board) about "Responses to Conflict" (see next page). Discuss the chart: (10-15)

Nonviolence does <u>not</u> mean not confronting conflict--it means confronting it in ways that are different from those most of us have been conditioned to try. None of the responses listed on the chart is necessarily "bad" or "good". Each of us chooses the response s/he feels is appropriate in a given situation.

C. Discuss "How Do You Usually Handle Conflicts?" NOTE: You could ask each participant to describe her/his customary response on a piece of paper (without identifying herself/himself by name). Collect the papers and have someone tally the answers. What is our most common response? Save the results for a later session; the process can be repeated and the results compared. (5)

D. Using role-playing, demonstrate to the group--or have someone else act out--a situation from one of the case (10-15)

(Session 4, continued)

(D) histories. Ask for volunteers to demonstrate other cases. If people volunteered at the end of the last session to prepare for this one, have them role-play other cases. While the volunteers prepare, explain the situation in each case and have the group brainstorm possible solutions to each of the problems presented.

You may have to explain how role-playing works. NOTE: If you, the facilitator, are not comfortable with this technique, it is important for you to practice role-playing a few sample situations ahead of time. Role-playing can be one of the best methods for prompting participation in the development of alternatives to violence.

After you and the volunteers have demonstrated the technique to the group, you may wish to divide people into small groups and ask each to work with a single case. Participants may also want to role-play situations from their own lives.

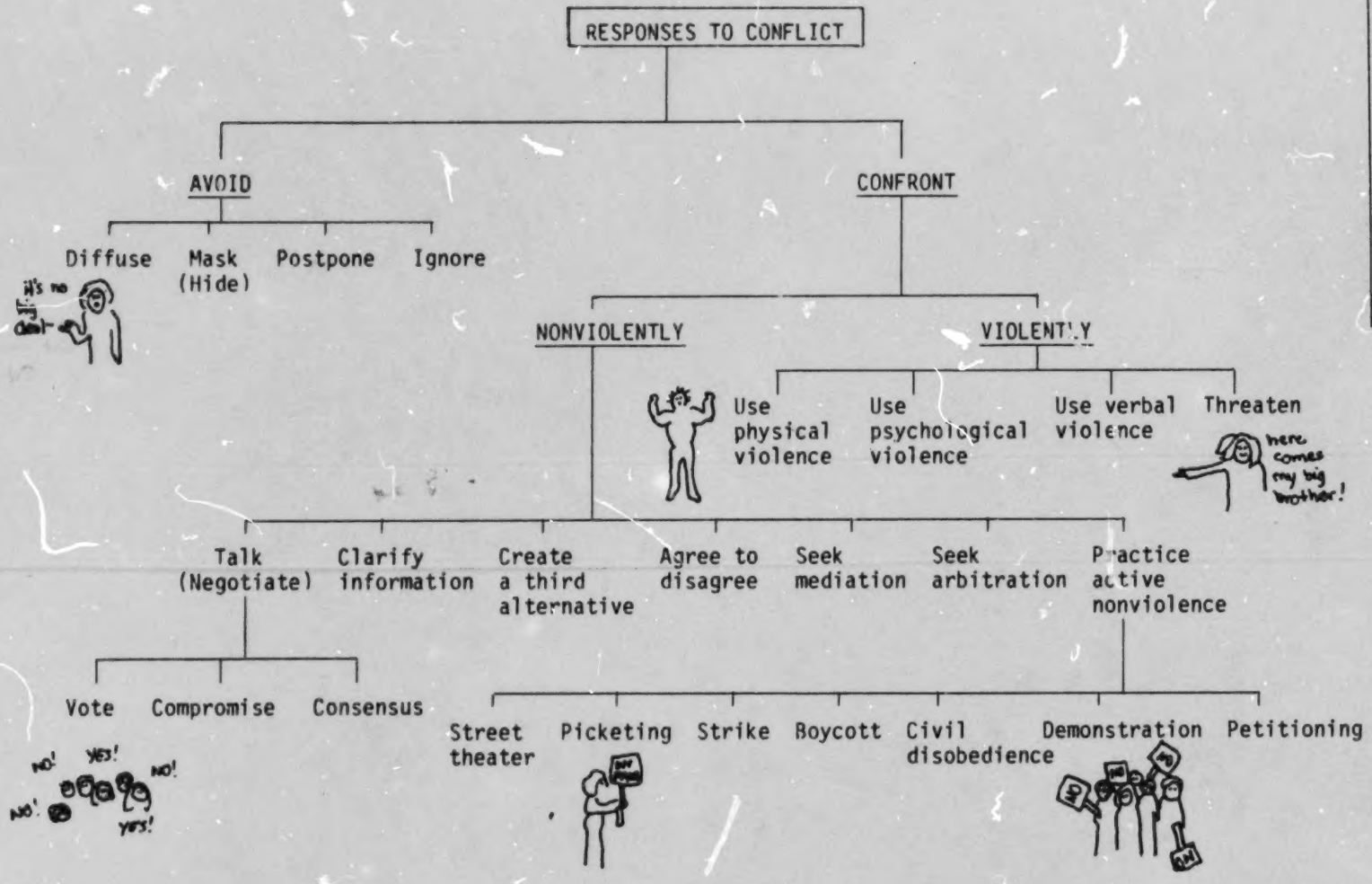
E. Make assignment for the next session:

Suggested questions to address in journals:
-Where do I usually fit into the "Responses to Conflict" diagram? Why? What do I need to learn in order to better manage the conflicts I encounter?
-When/how do my inner conflicts make me less able to effectively handle outer conflicts? How can I change this?

Optional Section:

Sometimes individuals would like to spend more time considering their own responses to conflict. Re-do the fantasy exercise using one of the alternatives the group has just discussed. Use this method, which has a little more structure:

"My opponent does...What options do I have? I do ...What options does that leave her/him? Which option is s/he likely to pursue? What options does that leave me?" --and so on.


RESPONSES TO CONFLICT
AVOID
CONFRONT
Diffuse
Mask (Hide)
Postpone
Ignore
NONVIOLENTLY
VIOLENTLY
Use physical violence
Use psychological violence
Use verbal violence
Threaten
here comes my big brother!
Talk (Negotiate)
Clarify information
Create a third alternative
Agree to disagree
Seek mediation
Seek arbitration
Practice active nonviolence
Vote
Compromise
Consensus
Street theater
Picketing
Strike
Boycott
Civil disobedience
Demonstration
Petitioning

HOW DO YOU USUALLY HANDLE CONFLICTS?

by Barbara Stanford

I. After each of the following techniques, indicate whether you use it frequently, occasionally, or rarely.

	Freq.	Occasion	Rarely
1. Avoid the person	____	____	____
2. Change the subject	____	____	____
3. Try to understand the other person's point of view	____	____	____
4. Try to turn the conflict into a joke	____	____	____
5. Admit that you are wrong even if you do not believe you are	____	____	____
6. Give in	____	____	____
7. Apologize	____	____	____
8. Try to find out specifically what you agree on and disagree on to narrow down the conflict	____	____	____
9. Try to reach a compromise	____	____	____
10. Pretend to agree	____	____	____
11. Get another person to decide who is right	____	____	____
12. Threaten the other person	____	____	____
13. Fight it out physically	____	____	____
14. Whine or complain until you get your way	____	____	____
15. Play the martyr: give in, but let the other person know how much you are suffering	____	____	____

II. Most of us use different techniques for resolving conflicts with different people. Sometimes people in different situations require different techniques—you may not be able to talk to your boss the way that you talk to your best friends. But often we use a very limited number of techniques with certain people.

After each group of people listed below, indicate by number the techniques listed above that you most frequently use to resolve conflict with them. (For example, if you frequently change the subject with parents, place a 2 in the first column after "Parents.") Disregard any groups of people that do not apply to you. Then, for each group, list any techniques you might be able to use effectively that you do not now use.

	Techniques now used	Techniques you might be able to use
Parents		
Older people		
Teenagers		
Children		
Brothers and sisters		
Teachers		
Employers		
Members of other racial groups		
Friends		
People you do not know well		

III. During the next 24 hours keep a list of all the conflicts in which you are involved. Briefly describe how you behaved in each conflict.

RESOLVING CONFLICTS

To test your skills in generating alternative conflict resolution techniques, read the following three newspaper accounts of imaginary conflicts. List all the possible actions open to the United States in response to these situations, whether you think they are good actions or not. Then circle the suggestions that you think should be tried first.

RUSSIA ATTACKS CHINA: CHINA ASKS U.S. FOR AID

(WP Peking)
Russian planes and ground troops today crossed the border into northern China. Several Chinese outposts were bombed, but the number of dead and the extent of territory occupied is not yet known.

Informed sources in Washington state that the president of the United States has received a message from Peking urging that the U.S. support the people of China against this unprovoked aggression.

What can the U.S. do?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

CANADA NATIONALIZES ALL U.S.-OWNED INDUSTRIES

(WP OTTAWA)

In a bold, unprecedented move today, Canada nationalized all industries owned by Americans and decreed that Americans must sell any Canadian property within two years.

The move was in response to recent violent demonstrations against what many Canadians have called "economic annexation."

What can the U.S. do?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

COMMUNISTS WIN ELECTIONS IN ITALY

(WP ROME)

The Communist party has won a landslide in the Italian national elections.

Major campaign promises of the Communists were to withdraw from NATO, require all American troops and military installations to leave within 60 days, nationalize all American-owned companies, and revise the Italian constitution.

What can the U.S. do?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 4-A

Contrary to the occupation agreement in 1940, the Nazis displayed the swastika flag on a public building in Denmark. The Danish king, King Christian, demanded the flag's removal. The German military officials refused. The king said he would send a soldier to remove the flag. The reply was that they would shoot him. "I am that soldier," said the king. The flag came down.

King Christian and the Danish people, without previous preparation or nonviolence training, were able to keep up this kind of defense quite effectively against the Nazis for two and a half years, until the British government persuaded them to use violence.

see **The Power of Nonviolence (Gregg), pp. 29-30; and **Nonviolence** (Miller), p. 252.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 4-B

In India, about 261 B.C., a Buddhist abbot confronted King Asoka, a famous warrior, who had pursued an enemy into his monestary. The King commanded, "Stand aside or I'll cut you down!" The abbot replied fearlessly, "You have the power but if you do you will find that the law which is now speaking through this body will stand always in front of you, accusing you." In spite of further harassment, the abbot continued to refuse until King Asoka decided to withdraw. Subsequent thought about the situation and about the abbot's courage followed, during which Asoka himself was won over to the idea of nonviolence. In about 259 B.C. he established the world's first nonviolent empire. For thirty years uninterrupted peace was maintained. Trees were planted far and wide. Wells were dug; hospitals built. Medicines were distributed, and the aged and infirm taken care of. Women achieved a more equitable position in society. Swords gave way to education. Missionaries went to other countries, not to impose but to share the way of life of the new empire. When India became a free nation again in 1947, her flag contained only Asoka's symbol: a wheel and the Sanskrit motto, "Truth Conquers."

see **Courage In Both Hands (Hunter), pp. 100-101

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 4-C

The early American colonists took land from the Indians by force and taught the Indians the art of scalping. The colonists could not speak the language of the Indians; communication was difficult. By contrast, when William Penn was given his Pennsylvania grant he began at once to learn the Indian language. At his initial meeting with them, he spoke peaceably and in their tongue. Instead of taking their land by force, he paid for it fairly, clearly defining the boundaries. He asked that the Indians report any future injustices on the part of Pennsylvania colonists. As Voltaire said, this was the only treaty never written down and the only one never broken. As a result of these just relationships, a real friendship was forged. When Quakers were gone from home, sometimes for days at a time, who took care of their children? The Indians were their babysitters–sometimes members of the same tribes were scalping other colonists. The Quaker latchstrings were always open for Indians to come and go day and night with complete mutual trust. As Pope Paul said, "If you want peace, then work for justice."

see **The Quiet Battle (Sibley), pp. 210-217

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 4-D

For centuries, the white colonists' Indian program in Brazil was one of extermination only. "Shoot the Indians on sight" was the general policy. The Chavantes Indians, living close to the center of South America, made a specialty of answering white people's atrocities with their own atrocities. Over 300 years ago, the river in their territory was renamed the River of Death after it supposedly ran red with the blood of a party of white adventurers who thought they could invade Chavantes country militarily. White rubber prospectors, celebrating on a Saturday night, would grab an Indian, pour kerosene over him or her, light it and fire shots at the fleeing flames as the victim ran for the river in the dark.

Onto this scene came Candide Rondon, an officer in the Brazilian army excited by the creative possibilities of a new approach. Rondon was eventually successful in instating a totally new policy: "Die if you must, but never kill an Indian." By 1910 he had persuaded the Brazilian government to establish the Indian Protection Service. It was a long struggle. Once, six of his representatives went into the jungle to make friendly contact with the Chavantes but were misunderstood and massacred. Even though guns for animal protection were with them they were found in their boxes **unopened.** Apparently, these men really believed that it was better to be murdered by the Indians than to kill an Indian.

Gradually, the message began to get through to the Chavantes that the white people were no longer there to harm them. In 1945, Francisco Meireles and ten helpers planted peace offerings near Chavantes dwellings. Eventually some disappeared, replaced by broken arrows. Interpreting this as a gesture of friendship, Meireles and his friends shouted greetings. The Indians came out, more and more at once. As the Brazilians' presents gave out, hostility again developed and they had to flee a rain of arrows which killed one white man and one horse. But Meireles remained persistent.

Finally, in 1947, he heard of large numbers of Chavantes gathering on the opposite river bank. Without hesitating he went over to meet them. No sooner had he stepped ashore than Apoena himself, the formerly ruthless chief, rushed forward, threw his arms around Meireles, and wept. As Candide Rondon wired Meireles, "This is a victory of patience, suffering and love."

see **Courage in Both Hands (Hunter), pp.89-92

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 4-E

An older woman was walking down a city street carrying her heavy shopping bags. Two young men came up behind her and overtook her on both sides. She knew what they were up to but she was far from any residence or person she knew. Before they got close enough to touch her or to say anything, she turned and grinned at each of them, thrust her packages into their arms, and told them how relieved she felt now that they had come along.

"I was rather nervous on this street," she said, "and these bags are so heavy. Would you help me?" The men took the bags instinctively, and off the three of them walked together, the woman thanking the two men all the while for being such good and helpful people.

see **Safe Passage on City Streets (Samuel), p.89.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 4-F

Marge Nelson was a Quaker doctor working at the prosthesis center in Quang Ngai, Vietnam operated by the American Friends Service Committee. At that time, most of the surrounding area was controlled by the Viet Cong. The fact that she had taken the time to learn Vietnamese before this incident was, of course, helpful.

She was asked to identify herself. Captured armed forces personnel are only supposed to give their name, rank and serial number. Presumably, captured pacifist civilians are not expected to say much, either. However, when Marge was asked she replied in a different way.

"My name is Marge Nelson–and what is yours?" The ice was broken. About six weeks later she was released unharmed.

**see International Division, AFSC
1501 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, PA 19102

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 4-G

Frank Laubach, founder of the "Each One Teach One" campaign which is credited with bringing literacy to millions of human beings, felt he was 'getting nowhere' with the Philadelphia Moros. He didn't know what to do about this savage people. Then he realized that he might have been hiding from himself (but not from the Moros) a sense of racial, cultural and religious superiority. Immediately he passed around the word that he wanted to study the Moros' sacred book, the Koran, under their leadership. A crowd of Mohammedan teachers swarmed around his tent by the next morning. With help, Laubach was soon mastering the language of the Moros, which had never been printed. Eventually he stumbled on the discovery that only three words contained all the consonants necessary to speak the language. Each, "mother," "hand," and "work," had four syllables. From this point it was simple to construct reading charts. Laubach has now successfully carried this technique to many other languages. As he left the Philippines, the Mohammedan leader prayed that his American friend would have the blessing of Allah as he went around the world "introducing to less fortunate nations the method we (Moros) helped him make into the easiest lessons in the world for teaching people to read."

see **Courage In Both Hands (Hunter), pp. 85-89.

SESSION 5: NONVIOLENT VS. VIOLENT LISTENING

Goal: To develop skill in active, nonviolent listening.

Materials: A hat for each group of six to eight participants.

Reading due: None.

Plan:

A. Discuss active (nonviolent) listening: (10-15)

Have you ever been a victim of poor listening? Did you feel that violence was being done to you in some way?

There are two important components of active listening: one is listening (focusing on the speaker, maintaining eye contact, nodding, and so forth); the other is expressing (asking questions, responding to what is said, agreeing or disagreeing.) "Violent" listening includes interrupting, not paying attention, putting people down, finishing sentences for the speaker, and so on. (Ask group members to list these and describe how they feel about them.)

Emphasize the "nonviolent" option in this situation is the active rather than the passive response to conflict. Ask the group members to reflect in their journals, using personal examples, on when and how bad or "violent" listening can lead to physical violence.

B. "Pass the Hat" listening game: Play in groups of six to eight. State the rules: (10-20)

The person wearing the hat is the only one who may speak; all others listen.

Pass the hat clockwise around the circle, giving everyone a turn.

When you get the hat, put it on and

1. reflect, to the last speaker's satisfaction, what s/he said (with her/his corrections and additions);
2. agree or disagree with her/his statement;
3. make your own statement about the problem under discussion.

State the game's goals:

1. To give each participant some practice in listening

(Session 5, continued)

(B) and reflecting.

2. To make each participant more aware of the ways s/he listens in a group.

Ask the group to brainstorm problems for discussion and pick a problem for each of the small groups to work on. (See Appendix 2 for examples.)

Have the group(s) play the game. If time permits, the game can go on after the hat has gone around the circle once. Players can either continue in order or pass the hat to whoever wants it. In either case, all the rules still apply.

Discuss the game in terms of the goals:

1. How did you feel when you were listening? When you were being listened to? How could you tell if people in the group were listening actively to you?

2. This game requires each person to participate exactly her/his share of the time. Was it hard not to jump in out of turn? Hard to participate?

C. Make assignments for the next session:
   1. Reading.
   2. Suggested question to address in journal:
      "I was...(surprised--pleased--displeased)...
      to learn...about myself in the first sessions."

Optional Section: (10-15)

If the participants want or need more listening practice, here is another affirming, nonviolent listening exercise: Participants divide into threes, and take turns being the speaker, the listener and the observer. The speaker shares with her/his partner "one of the most exciting things you have ever done." The listener listens actively, reflecting and responding to what is said. The observer checks to see how well the listener is listening (whether s/he is interrupting, looking at the speaker, paying attention or not.) Then players switch roles, so that each person gets a chance to be speaker, listener, and observer.

SESSION 6: GROUP FACILITATION AND CONSENSUS

Goals: 1. To understand the process of decision-making by consensus.
2. To develop skill in directing a group discussion toward consensus.

Materials: Observation chart and cards for "Fishbowl" game.

Reading due: "Power and Peacemaking"

Plan:

A. Review and discuss the reading for this session. Ask: (10-15)

What are the blocking and facilitating roles? What is consensus and how does it work? Has anyone here every been in a situation where the "minority opinion" turned out to be the best resolution to the conflict? (This is one reason for choosing a consensus process instead of voting.)

Define consensus:

Consensus is a general group agreement acceptable to all in the group. This does not mean there is unanimity: it means all involved are willing to consent to the solution supported by the rest of the group. The group must continue discussing the issue and offering new alternatives until everyone is satisfied with the outcome. Can anyone think of a decision s/he has made by consensus? Most decisions are made this way, and most of the time it does not take very long.

B. "Fishbowl" exercise in group facilitation: (25-30)

First, brainstorm problems that are in the minds of group members (in the news, in the school or organization). Ask the group to choose one. Make sure that members have enough information about the problem.

If there are more than twelve participants, divide the group in half. Half the group will then play the game at one time, sitting in the center of the room. These players are the "fish" in the "fishbowl." The other half of the group is outside the fishbowl, watching, seated in a circle around the fishbowl. These observers should have a chart as described below. If there are fewer than twelve people present, they all play at once: they will be both the "fish" and the observers.

Explain the rules of the game:

(Session 6, continued)

(B) Now the "fish" will discuss the problem we have chosen and try to reach consensus on a solution. Each of you has a card with a role (or function) described on it: this is your "job" in the problem-solving process. The roles are all explained in the article you have read. The observers have a chart (see next page) which lists all the roles. They will try to figure out who is playing shich role. Observers may also watch for problems in group process and keept track of how much each "fish" talks. While this game is an artificial process, it does give us a method for examining our own ways of participating in a group process.

Have the group play the game for amaximum of ten minutes. Then freeze the discussion. Ask the outside observers (or the "fish", if there are no observers):

Did everyone talk? Did everyone listen? What happens if not enough people participate actively in decision-making? What could we do to make participation easier in this group? Why is it hard to state areas of agreement? Would taking a vote have been as effective or desirable? Why?...Now, who played which role in the game?

If there is a group of observers, they now become the "fish" and the "fish" become the observers. Let the new fish have a chance to solve the problem. Repeat the discussion questions. Ask if the second group of "fish" learned from watching the first group. When both groups have finished, ask participants how they felt about the activity. Discuss the game, the notion of consensus, and the process and roles involved in nonviolent decision-making.

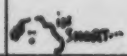
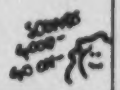
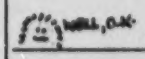
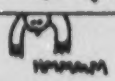
C. Make assignment for the next session:

Suggested questions to address in journal:
- -What role(s) do I play in this workshop/group?
- -How do I feel about this role? about myself in this group?

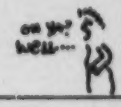
Chart for Session 6. B.

POWER AND PEACEMAKING ROLES*

HELPING (FACILITATING) ROLES:

INITIATOR	INFORMATION SEEKER	SUMMARIZER 
EVALUATOR	ENCOURAGER 	GATE KEEPER
COMPROMISER 	HARMONIZER 	OTHER

BLOCKING ROLES:

COMPETER 	SELF-CONFESSOR	BIG TALKER
CLOWN	WITHDRAWER	OTHER

*Fill in the person's name under the role you think s/he played.

POWER AND PEACEMAKING:
Communication Skills for Good Group Conflict Resolution

To use conflict creatively in a group, we have to learn COMMUNICATION SKILLS. There are two parts to the process of solving group conflict:(1) the task, and(2) group maintenance. The roles or skills that help accomplish the task (solve the problem) or maintain the group (nourish relationships) are all important parts of what is often called LEADERSHIP.

Here are task roles: skills that help the group accomplish its task–

INITIATOR–someone who organizes the group,
starts discussion
introduces ideas
raises questions

INFORMATION SEEKER–clarifies issues
asks for information
asks for definitions, goals

SUMMARIZER–a good listener
correlates ideas and suggestions
brings the group up to date
by defining where the group
stands in solving the problem
indicates areas of agreement and
disagreement

EVALUATOR–keeps the group aware of whether
they are attaining their goals

These four functions are performed by anyone–or several people–in order to keep the group focused on solving the problem.

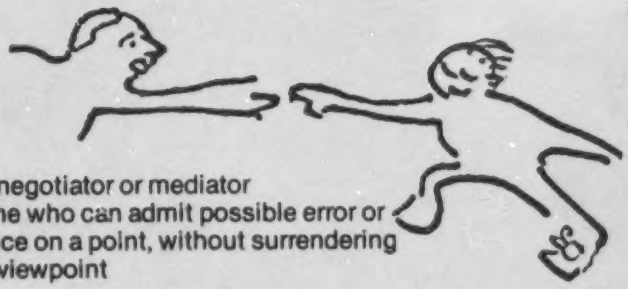
Just as important are maintenance roles, which nourish individual relationships and strengthen the group life, making it possible for the group to work together well–

ENCOURAGER–responds acceptingly to others
deals positively with disagreement

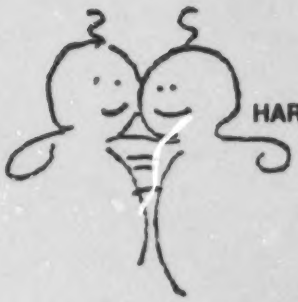
GATE KEEPER–an active listener who makes it possible
to hear from others not yet heard from

(Power and Peacemaking, continued)

More maintenance roles:



COMPROMISER--a good negotiator or mediator
someone who can admit possible error or ignorance on a point, without surrendering her/his viewpoint



HARMONIZER-reduces tension, using humor or by keeping cool
reconciles differences by getting opponents to explore common ground and disagreements, rather than seeking surrender of one side

The above roles can be performed by anyone or by several people, to keep the group feeling good and going strong. Both task roles and maintenance roles work together to *facilitate* good group conflict resolution. Do you recognize yourself in any of these roles? What happens when nobody does one or more of these jobs in a group?

* * * \

(Power and Peacemaking, continued)

More blocking roles:

SELF CONFESSOR—who uses the group as a personal sounding board—
seeks sympathy for her/his own point of view
by telling about personal problems

BIG TALKER—who never listens to others

WITHDRAWER—who doodles, daydreams, talks
to a neighbor, or otherwise
does not give the whole group
the benefit of her/his ideas

CLOWN—who draws attention to her/himself, away from the problem

The above behaviors are examples of blocking roles, which make the process of peacemaking or group conflict resolution more difficult.

So—

If you want to use your person-power for peacemaking—use your communication skills and consider which skills you need to learn more about to add to your *People Power to do CONFLICT RESOLUTION:*

—by Prill Goldthwait, 1979, with thanks to
Claudia Rickets for illustration ideas.

SESSION 7: LEADERSHIP AND NEGOTIATION

Goals: 1. To develop negotiation skills.
2. To become more aware of ourselves as leaders and followers.
3. To explore the nature of power as it is used in authority roles.

Reading due: None.

Plan:

A. Briefly define negotiation (see Glossary). Ask the group to brainstorm (make a list on the board): (5-10)

What skills make negotiation work well? What are the similarities between negotiation and consensus?

Discuss:

How is negotiation related to violence and non-violence? Negotiation involves giving as well as taking. All of the skills we have learned so far are important for good negotiation: meaningful negotiation involves honesty, openness, and active listening, as well as clarity in expressing ourselves. Good negotiation focuses on common needs, rather than on differences. It does not work well unless the negotiators speak clearly to each other about what is really bothering them (not diffusing the conflict by bringing in other problems, hiding feelings, and so on).

B. Practice negotiation: Divide the group in half and do an inter-group negotiation (for example, labor-management, school, or neighborhood disagreement). You may be able to use an issue from the local section of a recent newspaper, or use a topic suggested in an earlier section by participants; successes are important to group self esteem. The group should be fairly evenly divided (encourage those who have no strong opinion to join the "side" with fewer people). Participants set their own rules: which people speak, who facilitates or calls on people, if anyone; how many times each person can speak, or has to speak; who keeps time; and so forth. It is important that the terms and rules used be agreed upon at the beginning. Tell the group: (20)

Agreement is not the main goal of this exercise: in a later session we will work this or another problem all

(B) the way to its resolution. The process of negotiation is what we want to learn about today. Feel free to take a strong stand on the issue. Just because this is "alternatives to violence" class, it doesn't mean we have to be "nicer" than usual. We'll learn more if we make the exercise as true to "real life" as possible.

Have the group spend about fifteen minutes negotiating. If the sides get very polarized, consider asking the negotiators to switch sides for about five minutes and argue the other point of view as vehemently as their own.

C. Discuss the experience with the group: (5-10)

In today's negotiation, how did you feel? How did leadership emerge in the negotiation exercise today, or in the consensus game yesterday? We should note that a nonviolent leader is one who:

1. separates feelings about people from feelings about the problem;
2. focuses on common needs more than on differences;
3. encourages the development of multiple solutions to choose from; and
4. insists on trying to reach a solution which is fair to all involved.

Try to make participants aware of their own potential for leadership by asking them to give examples of how they helped lead and facilitate today. Stress that everyone has something to contribute to nonviolent leadership and negotiation.

D. Quick evaluation of the ATV workshop so far; What has been good? What could be improved? (5)

E. Make assignments for the next session:
   1. Reading.
   2. Suggested questions to address in journal:
      -What gives a leader her/his power?
      -When is the use of power violent or nonviolent?
      -In what ways (and when) am I powerful/a leader?

SESSION 8: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN VIOLENCE AND NONVIOLENCE

Goals:
1. To explore the differences in attitudes which lead to violent and to nonviolent behavior.
2. To become aware of how anger can be used violently or nonviolently.
3. To examine the role of sexism in both nonviolence and violence.

Reading due: "Differences Between Violence and Nonviolence"

Plan:

A. Practice nonviolent responses, using a "hassle line." (10-15)
A hassle line is a group role-playing game. Have people form two lines (form two pairs of lines if there are more than sixteen people in the group) facing each other. There should be the same number in each line, so that each person has a partner standing across from her/him. All people in one line play Person A; those facing them are Person B. Role play the conflict between A's and B's three times. Choose a simple conflict. For example, A and B are neighbors. Everyone in the A line plays the role of a gardner: the B's play the role of the owner of a cat which has dug up the gardner's favorite geranium. (See Appendix 2 for more sample conflicts.) First, both sides are aggressive, loud and verbally violent to each other. In the second phase, the A's hassle the B's, but the B's remain nonviolent and try to work out the problem. thirdly, switch so that the B's are hassling the A's with the A's remaining nonviolent.

B. Discuss participants' attitudes generally. Refer to and (25-30)
the readings for this session.

Both violence and nonviolence tend to be self-perpetuating. Why? What specific attitudes do we need to develop if we are to be nonviolent?

It should be clear that learning to be nonviolent tends to have different focuses for women and men. Women, in general, need to learn more of the "expressing" part of nonviolent conflict resolution (being assertive, developing confidence, knowing their own rights, accepting and using their anger) in order to counteract or supplement the generally aggressive roles for men that our society tends to promote. Neither component of nonviolence is of much use without the other. We all need to understand that nonviolence training and literature have not been immune

(Session 8, continued)

(B) to the sexism (as well as racism and other forms of institutional violence) of the world around them. Most published work on nonviolence is written by middle-class white men and stresses the component of nonviolence training most applicable to those writers. This means that, although the material is valuable, there are more ways of looking at nonviolence than we may be familiar with.

Nonviolent conflict resolution can be divided into several basic steps.

The first step is to listen carefully to ourselves: to understand as clearly as possible what we want in a given situation.

Then we express those needs to the person(s) we are in conflict with--the one(s) who can help resolve the problem. Clear "I" statements are helpful.

Then we listen to their side--facts and opinions--and respond to this, and then decide how to proceed.

It is important to note that anger is all right--anger is good, in fact--it is how anger is used which makes it violent or nonviolent. Discuss ways in which people can deal with anger so that it can have a positive, nonviolent function. (Note: It may be more comfortable to break into small groups for this discussion, making it easier to share.)

C. Make assignments for next session:
   1. Reading.
   2. Suggested questions to address in journal:
      -How do I feel about learning nonviolence?
      -What would I like to see happen in this workshop before it ends?

Optional Sections: (10-15)

1. Discuss the relationship of leadership, power and powerlessness in the context of violence and nonviolence--this is a follow-up to Session 7 which is particularly good for adult groups who do not need as much time on the personal communication skills.
2. Review together the material that has been covered so far, using the "Responses to Conflict" diagram from Session 3 as a starting point. Evaluate the earlier sessions and discuss what participants would like to cover in the remaining sessions.
3. If having volunteers demonstrate cases for Session 4 worked well in this group, ask for volunteers to prepare some of the cases for Session 9. Assign the other cases as reading homework.

Differences Between Violence and Nonviolence

	VIOLENCE	NONVIOLENCE
GOALS:	To defeat opponent to a finish. Must humiliate, injure, corner, and/or destroy opponent.	To solve the problem. To work with the opponent or change her/his understanding to achieve a mutually satisfactory settlement.
ATTITUDES:	Requires a strong hatred and fear of opponent to stimulate the necessary rage to attack and harm.	Requires courage, to think and act clearly with self control, and sometimes to be willing to suffer at the hands of the opponent, without retaliation.
PRINCIPLES AND TECHNIQUES	1. Attack so strongly that the opponent has no alternatives or choice.	1.a. Force the assailant into a dilemma such that further pursuit of her/his aims may be a disadvantage. b. Offer many options for both sides to save face and yet reach a solution.
	2. Avoid one's own suffering at all costs and inflict all possible suffering on other.	2.a. Completely reject the use of violence. b. Be willing to suffer but not to cause anyone else to suffer. Some pacifists believe that suffering can be a powerful force for social change.
	3. Use all resources to get victory as soon as possible.	3. Use persistence and patience in reaching an equitable solution, acceptable to all concerned. This stems from the pacifist principle of thorough dedication to justice, and the understanding that lasting change comes slowly.
	4. Use public relations to distort truth where it serves own purposes or to cover own wrongful conduct.	4. Keep conduct and public relations as exemplary and truthful as possible, to create sympathy and understanding by the public and the opponent. Pacifism relies on an unfailing dedication to truth. To accomplish this on a mass scale, nonviolent campaigns involve intensive training.
	5. Act arrogantly to instill hatred and fear.	5. Act with integrity and humbleness to instill respect and sympathy.
	6. Be harmful.	6. Be helpful.
	7. Relies on superior physical resources.	7. Relies on superior mental, creative, and moral resources.

(Differences between violence and nonviolence, continued)

	VIOLENCE	NONVIOLENCE
(Principles and techniques, continued)	8. Stimulate hatred toward opponent.	8. Show respect and caring. A famous pacifist principle is, 'love your enemy.'
	9. Ignore or supress a problem which does violence to others, where possible.	9. Not negative action, but positive action for change, even where difficult or risky.

EFFECTS: WHAT HAPPENS WHEN NONVIOLENCE CONFRONTS VIOLENCE?

In his excellent book, *The Power of Nonviolence*, Richard Gregg calls nonviolence moral jiu-jitsu, meaning that nonviolence throws the violent attacker off balance. When the attacker receives a violent response it gives her/him a certain reassurance and moral support. It shows that the intended victim has the same values, fears, and angers s/he has. S/he can predict the victim's next response, plan for it, and use it to her/his advantage. What if the response is nonviolent? Calm self control is not expected. In the face of blows that are not returned, the intended victim states a belief in truth and justice and asks for an examination of both sides. Resistance is offered but only in nonviolent ways. The acceptance of blows without retaliation proves sincerity. There is no fear or resentment shown. Often, instead, good humor and kindliness is reflected. The endurance of pain is startling. Feelings of curiosity and wonder begin to replace scorn as the aggressor realizes s/he does not face a coward, but rather the opposite. The attacker is unbalanced and, as Gregg says, falls headlong into a new world of values in which s/he feels ignorant and at a considerable disadvantage.

Several factors are at work:

1. The aggressor is surprised and no longer fully in control of the situation. The intended victim, on the other hand, has taken the moral initiative.

2. Prolonged anger is exhausting, whereas training, clearness of purpose, and self control preserve the nonviolent defender's energy.

3. The attacker's personality becomes divided as her/his more kindly motives are forced to come into conflict with her/his more selfish, violent motives.

4. The aggressor begins to look bad and becomes apprehensive about the effect of her/his aggressiveness on third parties. These third parties are swayed by the clear nonviolence of the resister(s).

5. This new uncertainty about her/his own values and methods and postion make the aggressor suggestible to change. Surprise tends to focus her/his attention on that which surprises her/him. The intended victim thus becomes more able to influence the aggressor than the other way around.

By removing fear, anger, dread of loss, and sense of separateness and substituting feelings of security, sympathy, respect, and good will, nonviolence can overcome cruelty, greed, pride, and bigotry. Nonviolence, even loving one's enemy, proves to be not just idealistic but practical.

SESSION 9: NONVIOLENT METHODS OF SELF-DEFENSE

Goal: To develop the elementary skills and attitudes necessary for nonviolent self-defense.

Materials: Open space for a particularly active session.

Reading due: Cases # 9. A-H.

Plan:

A. Discuss the reading. Note that the Morris and Crane articles on rape stress a rather one-sided view of nonviolence (see explanation in Session 8, part B). Ask the group to describe how nonviolence was used, and why it worked in the situations in the assigned readings. List on the board (brainstorm) some of the techniques of nonviolent defense which were used: (25-30)

-acting confident
-keeping eye contact
-caring about and listening actively to the assailant, asking questions
-making noise
-using surprise tactics
-stating one's own needs and feelings (including anger) clearly
-offering options, suggesting alternatives.
-responding (if one so chooses) to the need expressed, rather than to the assault
-running away
-acting crazy
-knowing where to go for help
-shouting (yelling), rather than screaming--especially shouting words (such as "No", "Fire", "Stop").
-getting passersby involved; for example, by physically approaching them or by shouting directions to them like, "Call the police," or "Get the license number."

These are examples of ways you can avoid acting like a victim. A "victim" can usually be expected to show fear, either by panicking and fighting back irrationally and ineffectively or by passively submitting to the violence. NOT ACTING LIKE A VICTIM involves stepping out of this passive role and thereby placing oneself on a more equal footing with the assailant. Ask participants to describe situations in which they have been involved where a nonviolent response helped to avert or lessen physical violence.

B. Have volunteers role-play (if applicable) two case histories which the group has not read. Then divide the group into (10-15)

(Session 9, continued)

(B) pairs: one person is the "assailant", the other the would-be victim. Ask participants to practice the techniques for nonviolent self-defense through role-playing. Use simple situations at this point. Have victims and assailants switch roles; continue. Then discuss some of the partipants responses, and ask how people feel about them. Hand out the written descriptions of the cases which were demonstrated earlier.

C. Make assignments for the next session:
   1. Reading,
   2. Suggested questions to address in journal:
      -How did it feel to not fight back?
      -What aspects of nonviolent self-defense do I feel prepared/not prepared to use in my life?

Optional sections:

1. If you are trained to do so, demonstrate and encourage the group to practice physical self-defense techniques (shouting and breaking away from holds). Follow this with a discussion of the feelings created by this assertive (and often angry) form of nonviolence. This is especially effective with younger groups.

2. If extra time permits (do not substitute this for the above activities). Discuss nonresistance, another form of nonviolence which has been widely used by nonviolent activists. Nonresistance enables one to retain personal dignity while making a political statement. Well-known proponents of this method include Mohandas Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Cesar Chavez, and many members of the anti-nuclear movement. Explain that the term is meant literally; simply not resisting an assault in any way (though most times the nonresister's presence is in itself an indication of "resistance" to some kind of institutional violence).

   There are two types of nonresistance:
   1. striving silently to retain one's own dignity, while not looking at the assailant, or protecting one's body, or fighting back;
   2. physically going limp and not cooperating in any way with one's opponents (note this technique is usually used only conflicts with police or jailers).

   Role-play the technique of nonresistance. Have the group divide into twos or threes with one person playing "the police" and the other one or two going limp. Then participants switch roles. Ask these smaller groups to then discuss the remainder of the session their feelings about nonviolent self-defense.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 8-A

In 1961 Leon Green, an eighteen year-old Black university freshman, participated in a sit-in protesting segregation at an Atlanta lunch counter. He sat still and held the menu in both hands. The enraged manager grabbed a meat cleaver and yelled, "Get your hands off that counter or I'll cut off one of them." He ripped the menu from Leon's hands and raised the knife. Leon firmly held what was left of the menu and looked straight ahead. They both had a hard time during the next few seconds of silence. Then the manager turned and walked back to the kitchen to think it over.

see **The Quiet Battle (Sibley), pp. 291-299 and **Courage in Both Hands** (Hunter), pp. 84-85.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 9-B

Harold Schultz, an associate of Candide Rondon in Brazil, once did not have enough presents to go around in a negotiation with the Chavantes Indians. An Indian man, taking this as a personal insult, ran a knife into Schultz's shoulder up to the hilt! He escaped and came back a year later, his arm still in a sling, but with plenty of presents. He sought out the Indian who had nearly killed him and ceremoniously presented him with a beautiful new knife! The tribe was so moved by this forgiving act that they took in Schultz as a member.

see **Courage in Both Hands (Hunter), pp. 90-91.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 9-C

Carlotta was the first and only Black student in a white high school classroom after integration began in the South. Fearful and hesitant, she was placed up front, making her an easy target for juicy spitballs. Some of these even had a bit of metal inside which made it hurt. When they hit her cheeks and forehead she had managed to control her temper as her nonviolent training sessions had taught. She was afraid, however, that the white kids would think she had no feelings like theirs because she didn't react to their attacks. When the class would laugh uproariously as she wiped her face, she wanted to crawl out of the room and never return. So, Carlotta came up with another approach. The next time she was hit with a spitball, she stooped to the floor, picked it up, and personally delivered it back to the obviously guilty person. With all her possible charm she laid it down in front of him, smiling, and in a very friendly fashion said, "This is yours, isn't it?" Then she turned and, with dignity, returned to her seat. The class howled with laughter, but at her embarrassed tormentor, not at her.

see **Courage in Both Hands (Hunter), p. 25

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 9-D

In 1972, two young women were walking home on a dark, empty Philadelphia street. Suddenly a tall young man confronted them. Holding a knife at the throat of the woman nearest him, he demanded money. "I have to have money," he pleaded. Clearly he was a junkie desparate for a fix. "If I don't get money, someone is going to get hurt," he threatened. Although they said they had none, he still threatened. The women offered as many alternatives as they could think of.

"Look," said the smaller woman, "I'll stay here with you. Let Mary go back to my apartment and get you the money."

"No way," he replied, "She'll call the cops."

"No, she won't. Really she won't. And I'll be here. She wouldn't call the cops while I was still here." But the assailant wouldn't give in. So, there in the empty street, she suggested that all three of them go to the apartment. He gave many reasons for not; it was clear he was frightened, too.

"Look, trust us. Come on," she said, looking him straight in the eye. Crazed and irrational as he was, the junkie began to understand that there was no better way out. He finally agreed. Still threatening with the knife, the man walked with them up the street and into the apartment building, while the women talked to him quietly and normally, not showing their fear. The woman whose apartment it was went in and returned with a ten dollar bill, all she had.

"Is that all you have?" he shouted. Her heart sank. "But I only need five dollars. I don't have any change. I'm sorry." He stood there uncertainly.

"Take it, take it. That's all right." Finally, he ran down the stairs and out of the building.

see **Safe Passage on City Streets (Samuel), pp. 13-18.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 9-E

Jane Addams was the famous founder of Hull House, a service center and shelter in Chicago's inner city. Converted from an old mansion, Hull House no doubt seemed an oasis of wealth in an otherwise very poor area. Though Ms. Addams lived in Hull House, there was really nothing of monetary value in it.

One night a man broke in—not an uncommon occurrence there. Jane Addams was awakened as he made his way into her own bedroom, looking for money or jewelry. Instead of being terrified, she greeted him very naturally.

"What do you want?" she asked.

"I want money."

"Well, what is the trouble?" she asked, just as she did all needy visitors to Hull House.

"I need money. I'm out of work."

"I have no money," Jane Addams answered honestly and without defensiveness, "But if you will come around in the morning I'll try to find a job for you."

Because of the natural way she spoke, he seemed not to doubt her word. The burglar left, unthreatened, and did indeed return in the morning. He even identified himself when the same calm Ms. Addams met him at the door, unassisted by police or weapons. She was, in fact, able to find him a job.

see **Safe Passage on City Streets (Samuel), pp. 19-20.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 9-F

The holdup man pushed a note into the young bank trainee's teller cage, demanding money. A gun was pointed covertly at her. However, ignoring the gun and the threat, she blurted out, "You can't do that. It's against the law!" The crook was taken aback by her simplicity and directness. What could he do? Argue with her, there in the middle of the bank, with a glass pane separating him from the money he wanted? He ran from the bank.

At a completely different time and place, another young woman reacted similarly. Confronted by a thief with a knife, she said, "You can't bother me! This is my neighborhood!" The woman was as surprised and embarrassed as anyone when she told the story later. But simply **stating the obvious** has an effect. It worked.

****see Safe Passage on City Streets** (Samuel), pp. 33-35

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 9-G

A traveller coming out of a bus station was accosted by a hold-up man threatening him with a gun and muttering something about demanding money. Ignoring the gun and the muttering, the traveller said, calmly, "It's cold. Why don't you take my jacket?" The assailant fumbled, and the traveller continued his expression of concern, "I was just going for something to eat. Why don't you join me?" Later, he even offered the hold-up man some money, but the relationship by now was so well established that the money was refused.

see **Safe Passage on City Streets (Samuel), pp. 89-90.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 9-H

Joe and his friend Peter were waiting for a bus in a bus shelter in a deserted section of Cleveland. They had about $200 with them. Two other men also were in the shelter. Suddenly they turned on Joe and Peter. With something under their coats, like guns, they shouted, "Give us your money!" Joe looked at the sky behind the attackers and yelled, "Wow, look! Here they come!" Peter joined in. Both talked and acted rather crazy. The robbers didn't know what to think. Confused, they ran away.

Someone who took the A.T.V. course (1980)

SESSION 10: CONFRONTING VIOLENCE AROUND US

Goal: To apply the principles of active nonviolence to situations in which we are not directly involved.

Materials: Plenty of space for role-playing.

Reading due: Cases # 10. A-F.

Plan:

A. Ask the participants to list types of violence which occur in the community. Use as examples situations in which someone else is being attacked, and ask the group members: (20-25)

-In which cases would you intervene? Why? How would/could you intervene?
-Who can remind us what the "spiral of violence" means?
-The goal of intervention is often to keep the violence from escalating to greater violence? When does each of you find it advisable or acceptable to intervene in what is usually considered "other people's business" ? Give examples.

Discuss "peacemaking" (nonviolent intervention to help resolve a conflict), what it means in various contexts, and how participants feel about it. Explain that conflicts can be prevented from escalating to further violence, and even de-escalated, with the help of several techniques. Any of the techniques discussed in Session 9 can be applied to peacemaking. In addition:

1. It helps to isolate the people in conflict from others who might join in. We can isolate them either physically (by separating the fighters from the "audience" or redirecting passersby) or mentally (by clarifying what is being fought about, so that others do not feel the need to join in the fight).

2. The intervener can listen actively (and impartially) to both parties and then mediate, arbitrate, or help negotiate. (See Glossary.)

3. We can stall the spiral of violence by simply confronting the combatants with a refusal to accept the violence itself (e.g., "I see you are both angry, but it won't help to hit each other and I want you to stop.").

B. Role-play specific examples of nonviolent intervention. (15-20)
Use cases from the readings and examples from Part A above. Divide the participants into groups of three: two people "fighting" and a third person attempting to get them to stop.

(Session 10, continued)

(B) Discuss the responses to conflict that have been used and people's feelings about the material for this session. If time permits and participants wish to do so, discuss case histories which were not role-played during the session.

C. Make assignments for the next session:
   1. Reading.
   2. Suggested questions to address in journal:
      -Under what conditions would I "get involved" to confront violence around me? Why?

Optional Section:

This exercise is helpful if the group needs more time for community building or personal-level conflict resolution skill-building.

Ask participants to form groups of three or four people. Explain the process for the "Quick Decision" exercise:

> The facilitator describes a problem (to the entire group) for consideration. Participants then have fifteen seconds to think about the problem alone, without talking. When the facilitator calls "Time", small groups have only one minute to reach consensus (general agreement) on a solution. Each group chooses its own way of handling the problem and the questions which may come up. After the minute is up, the facilitator calls "Time" again. If desired, small groups may report back to the full group--no discussion of reports until all groups have reported.

Here is one example of a Quick Decision situation:

> You are walking along the street together. Across the street you see a man forcefully dragging a woman who is screaming for help. He does not appear to have a weapon. You don't know whether they are married. What do you do?

Other problem situations may be taken from the cases for Sessions 9 and 10 or from Appendix 2.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 10-A

The Chicago **Daily News** of June 21, 1930, told of the non-violent demonstration near Bombay, India, during the Indian struggle for independence from British colonization. First, the ambulance unit arrived and lined up with stretchers. Then came the processions of white-robed volunteers, toward whom the police marched. The police began beating with lathis those who did not flee. No volunteer resisted or defended himself; only leaving the field when carried off on a stretcher. Then the police began beating up fifty Sikhs (religious leaders) who had arrived. The news report goes, "...I stood within five feet of a Sikh leader as he took the lathi blows...he stood straight. His turban was knocked off. The long black hair was bared with the round top knot. He closed his eyes as the blows fell until at last he swayed and fell to the ground. No other Sikhs had tried to shield him, but now, shouting their defiance, they wiped away the blood streaming from his mouth...the Sikh gave me a smile and stood for more. And then the police threw up their hands. 'You can't go on hitting a blighter when he stands up to you like that.' "

see **The Power of Nonviolence (Gregg), pp. 26-28.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 10-B

The Montgomery bus boycott lasted about a year. On December 2, 1956, a Black woman celebrated 'boarding day' by riding the bus. When she got off a young white man followed her. As the bus pulled away he went over and struck her as hard as he could in the mouth, knocking her down. He stood over her with his fists doubled. A carload of white men pulled up, apparently looking for trouble. Blacks were in the area. All of the Black people followed their training, 'If an incident occurs, do not go to the aid of the person being attacked. If you do, this will only encourage white people to rush to the rescue of the attacker: then there will be a more serious situation.' In spite of her burning anger, the woman who had been struck followed her training, too: 'If you are struck, do not strike back. On the other hand, do not show cowardice or fear if you can help it.' She rolled over, sat up a few seconds, got to her feet and dusted herself off, wiped the blood from her mouth, and walked off three or four steps looking away from the young man. No one came to either's aid. The attacker did not expect this result. Embarrassed, looking around quickly, he jumped into the waiting car and they all fled.

see **Courage in Both Hands (Hunter), p. 53.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 10-C

Quakers on the early North American frontier always left their latchstrings unsecured (the early equivalent of an unlocked door). Anyone, including all Indians, was welcome to enter at any time of the day or night to find shelter and warmth. One time, however, Mary and James Tyler were warned that a war party of Indians, incited by the British to burn and kill all, were on their way to destroy their settlement.

It was a difficult decision, but the Tylers decided not to change their long-standing practice. That night, they again left their latchstring out. In the middle of the night they were awakened by a war whoop. They could see and hear seven Indians in full war paint pull open the door and enter the house. The Indians conferred briefly, then turned and left quietly, going back into the night. In the morning, the Tylers went out and saw the burnt ruins of the other cabins nearby.

Later, as a U.S. government representative to a conference with the Indians, James Tyler related his story. One of the Indians present said he had been part of that raiding party.

"We meant to burn and kill all," he said. "We found the latchstring out. We said, 'We no burn. No kill these people. They do us no harm. They trust Great Spirit.' "

see **Safe Passage on City Streets (Samuel), pp. 69-70.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 10-D

The United Farm Workers, led by Mr. Cesar Chavez, have reported on many infractions and abuses of their civil rights during the famous agricultural strike begun in September, 1965.

A stationary line of picketing strikers stand along the edge of a public road. In front of them across the way are two strike breakers loading grapes into cartons. A grower comes up and shouts to the picketers to go back to work in the fields. Grabbing up a bunch of grapes from a box, he starts eating them as he walks down the picket line, leering and shaking his fist.

A sheriff and a deputy arrive. Through a bullhorn he shouts at the picketers, "All right, get along here—get moving! Go back to the fields." The deputy strides along the silent line of picketers pushing people back with his fist on their shoulders or chests. Several of the demonstrators are women; one is pregnant. There is murmering and jostling behind the front line of picketers. One woman falls down. Angry at the wall of faces, the deputy kicks one man in the stomach.

Someone calls to the picketers, "Sing!" and gradually the voices join and sing as the demonstrators turn and continue down the road in slow procession.

see **Sal Si Puedes (Mattheisson) **The Politics of Nonviolent Action** (Sharp), pp. 263-264.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 10-E

Last December at about 11:30 p.m., I boarded the subway at 14th Street on my way back from a meeting in Washington. About a dozen passengers got on the empty car with me, an old one with seats running its full length so that all the passengers could see each other.

I found myself sitting opposite two black men. "A" was on the plump side; "B" thin, wiry and intense. I noticed A looking upset as he got up in anger and moved away from B, who was smoking.

B (disdainfully, glancing over at A): What's the matter, don't you like my smoke?

A: No, you blew it right in my face.

(By now most people in the car were aware of the conflict.)

B: Well, if you don't like it, you know what you can do!

A: I'm not saying anything. I just want to move away.

B (with hostility): You better keep your mouth shut!

A (sheepishly, and with obvious fear): I'm saying nothing.

B (looking around triumphantly, as if daring anyone to challenge him): You better not!

Dead silence enveloped the car. Some people inched away from the scene of the conflict. There was a clear consensus that it was something to stay out of. Three or four minutes passed.

LS (standing and walking over to B, speaking quietly and considerately): My friend, I'm really very sensitive to smoke. It's hard on my lungs. You wouldn't mind putting out your cigarette for the sake of my health, would you? (with a smile.)

B: You're over on that side and I'm over here. My smoke doesn't go over there.

LS (returning to seat): It's not as bad over here, but some does come over, and it does bother me. I'm quite sensitive, you know. (Everyone in the car was listening carefully now, but trying not to look at B.)

B: I **know** it doesn't go over there.

LS (earnestly): You know, smokers can't really notice it so much; they're used to it. It's different with those of us who are sensitive. I know you don't like to make it difficult for people.

B (less hostile): You ask me in a nice way. You're not a "schmuck" (with a nod toward A to indicate that he is one.)

As he went on smoking in silence, I smiled at him, but tried to show by my expression that I wasn't joining in the denunciation of A. At this point, another black man nodded approvingly in my direction, taking care to do so when B wasn't looking.

B: I have to apologize. (At his words fear in the car seemed to melt away.)

LS: I appreciate that. I know how you feel. But you know, it really doesn't help.

B repeated his apology three times, each time after a short period of reflection in which he carefully scrutinized my face. I showed appreciation, but continued to indicate--by means of imploring looks--that apologies were not enough, that the smoke really bothered me. After another minute or so, B took a last puff, put his cigarette on the floor and crushed it with his shoe. He looked at me with a faint smile.

B: You talk like a gentleman. (By now, the other passengers looked incredulous, as if they had just witnessed a miracle.)

LS: Well, I try, but I'm not always able to. But I really appreciate your putting out your cigarette. You're a gentleman,too.

B: I apologize. You were right. I'm not a schmuck, but when someone else acts like a schmuck, you have to act that way, too.

LS: Not really. Sometimes you can change the situation by acting nice.

B: (with a knowing look): You're right there,too. (He smiled, obviously wanting to

be my friend. I smiled back.) He's my brother (nodding toward A and clearly indicating that he meant soul brother.)

LS: Yes, we're all brothers.

B nodded in enthusiastic agreement as the train, which had stopped for passengers, started off. As the noise grew, we looked across at each other to communicate that it was useless to try to shout over the din. B continued to smile and look pleased. At Union Square, the train filled up with passengers who stood between us, blocking our view. When I got up to leave, at Third Avenue, I walked over to B. "Have a good evening, friend," I said. He looked up, pleased.

On the stairs leading up to the street, a young woman hurried up from behind to tell me that she could hardly believe what she had just seen happen. Because of what I had done, the passengers lost their fear and were filled with good feeling, she said. How was I able to be so friendly to someone who seemed so threatening? I walked with her to the corner, telling her that I worked with Quakers in nonviolence training and conflict resolution.

"It doesn't always work," I said, "but it usually does. All people have good inside them, and it's a challenge to try and draw it out." She agreed and indicated deep satisfaction with my explanation. She warmly returned my greeting as we went our separate ways.

Lee Stern is administrative secretary of the Quaker Peace and Social Action Program, which serves a tri-state area from an office in New York City. A longtime FOR member, he was a member of the national staff for many years.

"Turning Things Around on the Subway" by L. Stern from **Fellowship Magazine** 10/80, pp. 17-18.

SESSION 11: ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

Goals: 1. To link personal conflict resolution to participation in community affairs.
2. To recognize and confront violence in our communities.

Materials: A diagram and a worksheet (Charts 2 and 3) for each participant and a set of these on the board or easel. Chart 1 on the board or easel.

Reading due: Cases # 11. A-G.

Plan:

A. Discuss the relationship between interpersonal conflict resolution skills and conflict resolution in the larger community. With the help of the group, draw up a chart similar to Chart 1, which follows this session's outline. (5-10)

B. Ask the group to brainstorm some of the problems that exist within or around it; list them on the board. The kinds of problems named will depend on the type of group and setting in which the workshop is taking place--community group, school, or religious organization. Try to guide the group to think of "real" conflicts which are specifically relevant to the local group or community. (5-10)

C. Discuss Chart 2, "Prerequisites for Nonviolent Communities" (5-10)

Organizations and communities ought to have the following basic components:

1. a clarified Mission (purpose and identity), which is pluralistic;
2. shared Power;
3. flexible and responsive Structures;
4. equitably distributed Resources.

Review the concept of institutional violence, which was discussed in Session 3. We can define institutional violence in this way (see Chart 3):

(ACTOR) Some person, group or institution uses any or all of these basic MECHANISMS to the detriment of some other person or group:

- -pursues an unclarified Mission, ignoring diversity
- -refuses to share Power
- -maintains inflexible or unresponsive Structures
- -inequitably distributes Resources

INTENTIONALLY or UNINTENTIONALLY for a PERCEIVED REWARD and JUSTIFIES this action for her/his/its own purposes.

(Session 11, continued)

(C) Have the group choose one or two of the problems brainstormed in Section B and explain each one in terms of the above definition. Fill in a column of Chart 3 for each situation you discuss. (10)

Ask the group:

Is our coummunity or institution less responsive to the needs of some kinds of people than to those of others? Should this be changed? Why or why not?

D. Divide the participants into small groups. Encourage each group to choose one of the problems listed in Section B (or other community problem) and define it, filling in another column of Chart 3. Then discuss conflict resolution skills which could be used to solve the problem. Have each small group report its conclusions to the whole group. (5-10)

E. Make assignments for the next session:
1. Reading,
2. Suggested questions to address in journal:
-What kinds of injustice (instituional violence) exist in my community? What, if anything, am I prepared to do about this violence?

Optional Section

This exercise is helpful in reinforcing the relationship of the individual to her/his community. In small groups, do a "stress hunt": each person lists 3 things s/he likes about her/his job/school/community, and 3 things s/he finds stressful.

Chart Model * (1) for Session 11

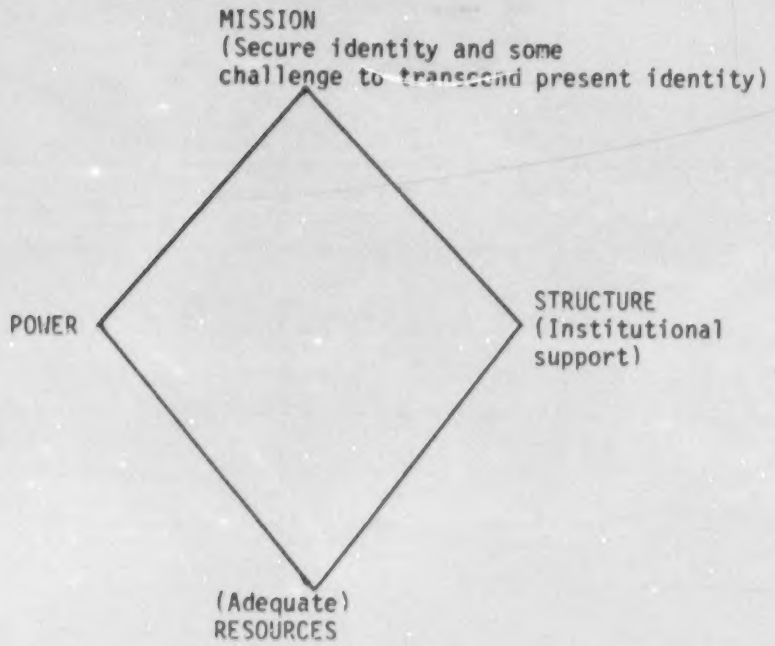
CONFLICT RESOLUTION ON TWO LEVELS

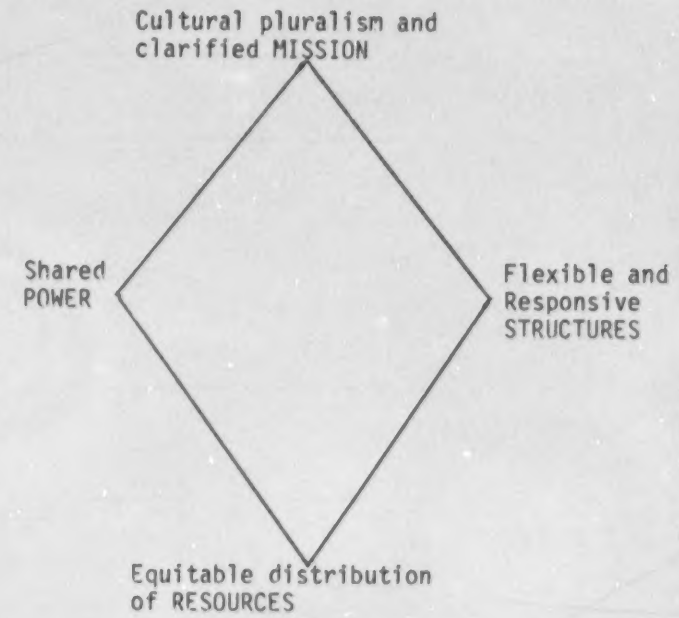
PERSONAL	COMMUNITY
ACTIVE LISTENING FACT FINDING	-Hearings -Research -Investigative reporting -Discussion of community issues with various people -Awareness of local news (via newspapers, radio, TV, and so on)
LEADING FACILITATING	-Legislation -Community organizing efforts -Executive action -Personal witness -Education
NEGOTIATING	-Use of the courts -Legislative hearings and debate -Union Management negotiation -Town, school, and neighborhood meetings -Community mediation centers
PRACTICING ACTIVE NONVIOLENCE	-Letters to government representatives -Lobbying -Public speaking -Demonstrations -Voting -Relief work -Boycotts -Strikes -Political campaigns -Civil disobedience -"Alternatives to violence"--teaching, learning, and practicing

* Leader draws the chart on the board and fills in major headings (words in capital letters); group members brainstorm to fill in the right-hand spaces (words in lower case letters are examples which the leader can use to supplement the group's ideas).

CHART (2) FOR SESSION 11. C.: PREREQUISITES FOR NONVIOLENT COMMUNITIES

Fully functioning individual → requires → Just Society





--theory and diagram by
Robert Terry and Jean Alvarez

CHART (3) FOR SESSION 11. C.

	Situation #1	Situation #2	Situation #3	Situation #4
ACTOR				
MECHANISMS: Mission				
Power				
Structure				
Resources				
INTENTIONALITY				
PERCEIVED REWARD				
JUSTIFICATION				

--theory and chart model by
Robert Terry and Jean Alvarez

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 11-A

On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks, a Black seamstress, boarded a bus in Montgomery, Alabama on her way home from work. Tired, she sat in the first row of seats behind the full white section. When more white people boarded, as was the custom, Ms. Parks was asked to move farther back to give seats to the whites. The Black section was full by this time, so she would have had to stand. Three other Black people, sitting in the same row, did move back, but she quietly and with dignity refused. The driver called the police, and Rosa Parks was arrested for violating the city's segregation ordinance. Probably because she was so highly respected in the Black community, her arrest triggered the long-smouldering resentment of the Black community into action. At the suggestion of the (Black) Women's Political Council, a mass meeting of Black citizens decided to boycott all buses on Monday, December 5th, and to meet that night to determine further action.

The boycott was a complete success. Not more than a tiny handful of Montgomery's 50,000 Black citizens rode a bus that day. They realized, though, that one day's effort would mean little. At Monday's mass meeting, the community decided unanimously to continue the boycott until:

(1) courteous treatment of Blacks by bus operators was guaranteed,

(2) seating on a first come, first served basis, whites beginning in the front and Blacks in the back, and

(3) Black bus operators to be employed on predominantly Black routes. To direct the bus boycott, they formed the Montgomery Improvement Association and chose as its president a young well-educated minister, Martin Luther King, Jr.

With many trials and tribulations, the bus boycott continued for over one year. The whole world knew what was going on, not only regarding the unjust seating, but regarding the bombings, harassment arrests, the unjust legal treatment. Opinion was so in sympathy that when the U.S. Supreme Court itself acted, the boycott finally ended. When Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. boarded the first bus, the driver smiled cordially and said, "You're Dr. King, aren't you? We're glad to have you this morning."

Violence against Black people in Montgomery and elsewhere did not end with the end of the bus boycott, but the widespread belief that Blacks approved of their inferior status under segregation was shattered, and the Civil Rights movement began.

see **The Power of Nonviolence (Gregg), pp. 36-41, and **Nonviolence** (Miller), pp. 298-305.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 11-B

For centuries a caste system was maintained in India. Brahmans had refused the (lower-caste) 'untouchables' the use of a particular road through the village of Vykom, in southern India, for generations. Some followers of Mohandas Gandhi decided it was only just that the road should be open to all human beings. They started the struggle by taking several 'untouchable' friends with them along the road into the Brahman quarter. Beatings and arrests resulted. Volunteers all over India heard about the action and poured in to replace them. The state forbade more arrests but ordered the police to prevent any of the reformers from using the road. The police set up a barricade across the road. The reformers simply stood before this barrier in an attitude of prayer. They organized themselves into six-hour, round-the-clock shifts, and a hut was built nearby. The duties were undertaken on a religious basis. Never did the demonstrators use any violence, though the vigil went on for months. The rainy season came: the road was flooded. The volunteers continued to stand, sometimes with water up to their shoulders, while the police continued their barricade in small boats. Due to the hardships, the length of shifts shortened, with more and more volunteers taking part in the action. The position of the authorities seemed more and more unreasonable both to the public and to the government itself. Finally the Brahmans' hearts were melted. The Vykom road was opened to all comers. Reverberations were felt throughout India in removing other restrictions and strengthening the cause of tax reform.

see **The Power of Nonviolence (Gregg), pp. 19-20; and **Courage in Both Hands** (Hunter), pp. 77-78.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE
CASE 11-C

In November of 1958 the Miss America contest stimulated a little unexpected media coverage. A group of feminists decided to demonstrate against the contest, feeling it degrades women and that all women, including the contestants, are victims of this exploitation. The demonstrators held planning meetings. One night police cars were parked outside. The next day the mayor of Atlantic City called one of the group members asking about their plans. The demonstration was held as planned. Carol Giardina, of Gainesville, Florida, was fired from her job because of her activities in Women's Liberation and her participation in the Miss America protest.

see: **Take Back the Night** (Lederer) and **Sisterhood is Powerful** (Morgan)

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 11-D

Black Panthers in New Haven, Connecticut had begun to help inner city residents through concrete programs such as: (1) free health programs, (2) free children's breakfast programs, (3) day care programs, and (4) free clothing for women and children in need. Then fourteen of the Black Panthers were arrested and charged with conspiracy, murder and kidnapping in connection with the death of Alex Rackley, a former Panther, in May of 1969. After they had been held in jail for six months without even a trial, a support action was planned.

The Black Panthers claimed that the charge was trumped up, that the police wanted them off the streets, out of their communities, and away from the people they wanted to serve. Similar arrests, harassment, and police killings had been happening to Black Panthers all over the country.

Five of the fourteen held were women. Rose Smith, Loretta Luce, and Francis Carter were pregnant at the time of their arrest. The women were all denied the right to physical exercise, good food, fresh air, and proper maternity clothes. Lights flooding their cells and the sound of sirens outside day and night prevented them from sleeping. They were kept in solitary confinement and denied the right to choose lawyers to represent them. Frances Carter, in such poor condition that she was in labor thirty hours before a Caesarian section was performed, gave birth under armed guard. Rose Smith and Loretta Luce were both due in December. Indicative of her treatment, Ms. Smith gained only one pound during the entire six months of her pregnancy spent in jail. All of the babies were to be taken, against their mothers' wills, to be raised by the state.

On Saturday, November 22, 1969, Women's Liberation, the Black Panther Party, and the Welfare Rights Organization staged a protest march. Thousands of Black and white people marched through the streets of New Haven, ending at an inspiring rally at the Courthouse. The marchers demanded the freeing of the pregnant women on their own recognizance and of the rest on reasonable bail.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 11-E

The city of Akron, Ohio has ten schools that are more then 80% Black, and thirty-two more than 80% white. Twenty-four years ago the U.S. Supreme Court declared in the now-famous Brown vs. Board of Education decision that separate schools inherently cannot be equal.

Some Akron parents have, for fifteen years, sought relief from the segregated conditions. West Side Neighbors, a large and influential community organization, presented a plan for school board consideration but never received a written response or a date for a meeting to discuss it.

In 1974 Black and white teachers at South High condemned the educational program in a written report and asked the board to state its position on desegregation adding that South, though almost all black, could be integrated. The Superintendent called the faculty "self-centered." Eventually, some program improvements were made but desegregation was ignored.

In 1975, a high school seminar with student representatives from all over Akron passed a resolution asking that the school board appoint a task force to develop a plan for reducing racial imbalance in the schools. No task force was ever appointed.

An Akron plan for closing schools because of dropping enrollment admittedly is not to achieve desegregation, though some improvement would result incidentally from it.

Now aggrieved parents are filing a lawsuit through the federal courts to force the desegregation of Akron city schools.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 11-F

Two Race Riots: Prior Incidents

NEWARK

1965: A Newark policeman shot and killed an 18-year-old negro boy. After the policeman had stated that he had fallen and his gun had discharged accidentally, he later claimed that the youth had assaulted another officer and was shot as he fled. At a hearing it was decided that the patrolman had not used excessive force. The patrolman remained on duty, and his occasional assignment to Negro areas was a continuing source of irritation in the Negro community.

April, 1967: Approximately 15 Negroes were arrested while picketing a grocery store which they claimed sold bad meat and used unfair credit practices.

Late May, early June: Negro leaders had for several months voiced strong opposition to a proposed medical-dental center to be built on 150 acres of land in the predominantly Negro Central Ward. The dispute centered mainly around the lack of relocation provisions for those who would be displaced by the medical center. The issue became extremely volatile in late May when public "blight hearings" were held regarding the land to be condemned. The hearings became a public forum in which many residents spoke against the proposed center. The city did not change its plan.

Late May, June: The mayor recommended appointment of a white city councilman who had no more than a high school education to the position of secretary to the board of education. Reportedly, there was widespread support from both whites and Negroes for a Negro candidate who held a master's degree and was considered more qualified. The mayor did not change his recommendation. Ultimately, the original secretary retained his position and neither candidate was appointed.

July 8: Several Newark policeman, allegedly including the patrolman involved in the 1965 killing, entered East Orange to assist the East Orange police during an altercation with a group of Negro men.

Final Incident

July 12, approximately 9:30 p.m.: A Negro cab driver was injured during or after a traffic arrest in the heart of the Central Ward. Word spread quickly, and a crowd gathered in front of the Fourth Precinct station-house across the street from a large public housing project.

Initial Violence

Same day, approximately 11:30 p.m.: The crowd continued to grow until it reached 300 to 500 people. One or two Molotov cocktails were thrown at the station-house. Shortly after midnight the police dispersed the crowd, and window-breaking and looting began a few minutes later. By about 1:00 a.m., the peak level of violence for the first night was reached.

DETROIT

August 1966: A crowd formed during a routine arrest of several Negro youths in the Kercheval section of the city. Tensions were high for several hours, but no serious violence occurred.

June 1967: A Negro prostitute was shot to death on her front steps. Rumors in the Negro community attributed the killing to a vice squad officer. A police investigation later reportedly unearthed leads to a disgruntled pimp. No arrests were made.

June 26: A young Negro man on a picnic was shot to death while reportedly trying to protect his pregnant wife from assault by seven white youths. The wife witnessed the slaying and miscarried shortly thereafter. Of the white youths, only one was charged. The others were released.

Final Incident

July 23, approximately 3:45 a.m.: Police raided a "blind pig," a type of night club

in the Negro area which served drinks after hours. Eighty persons were in the club — more than the police had anticipated — attending a party for several servicemen, two of whom had recently returned from Vietnam. A crowd of about 200 persons gathered as the police escorted the patrons into the police wagons.

Initial Violence

Approximately 5:00 a.m.: As the last police cars drove away from the "blind pig," the crowd began to throw rocks. By 8:00 a.m., looting had become widespread. Violence continued to increase throughout the day, and by evening reached a peak level for the first day.

In the 24 disorders surveyed, the events identified as tension-heightening incidents, whether prior or final, involved issues which generally paralleled the grievances we found in these cities.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 11-G

After the crash of 1929, miners were desperate in eastern Kentucky. Without a union and with wages at rock bottom they lived precariously. The United Mine Workers did not have the power to organize, but a new union, the National Miners Union, came to Harlan and Bell counties to do so.

In February of 1931 they called a strike. Thousands went out. The union set up soup kitchens and collected and distributed clothes. The Red Cross would not help because the strike was not a "natural disaster."

The mine operators hired 325 armed guards, many of whom were made sheriff's deputies. The miners called them "gun thugs." In April a guard shot and wounded William Burnett, who shot back and killed the guard. On the morning of May 5th the deputies set out to run off some men picketing a mine. At a railroad crossing they were met by a carload of miners. Miners were in the hills on both sides of the tracks. The Battle of Evarts began. It is said a thousand shots were fired. At least four people were killed, among them deputy sheriff Jim Daniels.

Governor Flem Sampson sent in hundreds of National Guardsmen to stop the union organizing. Thirty-four miners and one guard were arrested. Their trial was moved from Harlan to Winchester because the prosecutor felt he would have trouble getting convictions in Harlan. Some miners were sent to the state prison. The NMU drive failed. The miners nearly starved and couldn't hold out during the strike.

The Harlan County Coal Operators Association not only controlled the sheriff and his deputies. In a senate hearing, Senator La Follette asked George Ward, secretary of the Association, if it took any part in the politics of Harlan County. Ward replied, "No sir, it does not."

La Follette: "Who is the Chairman of the Republican Committee of Harlan County?
Ward: "I am."
La Follette: "Who is the Chairman of the Democratic Committee of Harlan County?"
Ward: "Mr. S.S. Dickenson."
La Follette: "What position, if any, does Mr. Dickinson hold with the Harlan County Coal Operators Association?"
Ward: "President."

see **Appalachian People's History Book (Crowell), pp. 65 + 78.

SESSION 12: ZEROING IN ON A PROBLEM

Goals: 1. To build each participant's confidence in employing alternatives to violence in resolving conflicts.
2. To continue to build a sense of community within the group by working tward the resolution of a shared conflict.

Materials: Chalkboard and chalk; or easel, markers, and paper.

Reading due: Cases # 12. A-E.

Plan:

A. "Six Step Problem Solving" Activity.

This activity can help build self-confidence and group confidence if the steps are followed very carefully. It will need the full 45 minutes (at least), and should be moved along as indicated.

Begin by listing the six steps on the board or easel. (Check them off as the group proceeds through the exercise.) Explain that this is a method which many groups have used successfully to solve problems, and that the best and most creative solutions develop when everyone participates fully in the process.

1. Brainstorm problems. (5-10)
Explain that in brainstorming sessions, it is important simply to think of, and offer, as many ideas as possible; the leader simply lists all the ideas people offer, and there is no discussion or evaluation at this stage.

Ask group members to take a minute or two to think of some of the problems that exist in the school/religious/organization/community. List all the problems people can think of on the board or easel. Encourage everyone to contribute to the list.

2. Choose one problem. (5-10)
Read through the list and ask that each participant choose a problem that s/he would prefer to work on. Encourage people to consider both what they find most interesting and what kinds of problems this group seems most capable of solving. Read through the list and take a straw vote (non-binding), listing the number of persons voting for each item. Ask participants to vote for the two ot three they prefer if it is a long list. Then take a second vote. Erase the problems that have received no votes.

In order to select one problem of greatest interest to the group, ask participants to look carefully at the remaining list and again select one item to vote for. Ask people

(Session 12, continued)

(A) (2.) to point out any difficulties which they feel might prevent the group from solving a particular problem or problems in the time available. (It is important for the facilitator to provide direction at this stage so that the group has a chance to complete the activity successfully.) Using straw votes, discussion, and consensus, have the group narrow down the list to one problem to solve.

3. Describe the problem. (5)
Ask the person(s) who originally suggested the problem which the group has chosen to describe the problem in more detail so that participants are familiar with many aspects of it and can better suggest solutions. Encourage the group to ask questions and suggest other aspects of the problem that have not been mentioned. The facilitator should then describe the problem in detail.

4. Brainstorm solutions. (5-10)
Encourage the group to brainstorm as many solutions, or partial solutions, as they can think of. List all on the board. At this stage, people should not "censor" the ideas that occur to them by considering whether or not the solutions can work. Explain to the group that some of the most creative and workable solutions evolve from ideas which at first may seem "crazy." Again, encourage everyone to participate.

5. Choose the best solution. (5-10)
Go through the same process as for step 2, above, but do not erase any suggested solutions too soon. Work to reach the best solution: it may be one from the list, portions of several items, and so forth. As group members evaluate possibilities and point out potential problems, continue to modify the solution collectively.

IMPORTANT NOTE: The greater the number of people in the group who "own" (feel committed to; feel they have had a part in working on) the problem and its solution, the higher the motivation will be to see that this solution is implemented. In the final sense, this has much to do with the participants feelings of success or failure in this exercise and in problem solving generally.

6. Decide how to implement the solution. (5)
Again, ask the group to brainstorm--this time, ask for ways to implement the solution. List as many as possible and then choose the best method(s) for implementation and the progression of steps for implementation. Ask for volunteers who would like to work on implentation and report back to the group at a later (specified) time.

B. Make assignment for the next session:
Suggested question to address in journal: What do I like best about my/our group's problem solving ability?

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 12-A

Because there have been many potentially hazardous nuclear power plant accidents or radiation leaks and because there is no known safe way to destroy nuclear power plant wastes, which are very, very toxic; many protests against nuclear power plant construction have been organized worldwide.

At Seabrook, New Hampshire, a third factor of concern has been the predicted destruction of the ecology of the sea and shore from large seawater temperature increases due to the plant's operation. The local residents objected strongly and when provided a ballot opportunity voted down the construction of the Seabrook nuclear power plant.

However, because utility, state and federal powers proceeded anyway, on August 1, 1976, eighteen New Hampshire residents entered the construction site to plant saplings and corn for replacing the trees already destroyed. Known as the Clamshell Alliance, they were arrested for trespassing.

Then, on August 22nd, from an outside rally of 1,000 supporters, 180 returned in a march to occupy the site again. Again they were arrested and removed.

On April 30, 1977, more than 2,000 entered the construction site, set up a tent city and announced that they were staying until construction plans were cancelled. On the second day of this occupation, the New Hampshire State Police asked them to move. They refused, and 1,414 were arrested. Because they would not accept bail, over 500 remained in jail until May 13 when the state agreed to release them on personal recognizance.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 12-B

In 1967, the 50-foot sailboat *Phoenix* sailed to Haiphong, in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, sponsored by A Quaker Action Group of Philadelphia. She carried ten thousand dollars worth of medical supplies, consigned to the Red Cross, to be used for the relief of civilian casualties of U.S. bombing there. The United States government was placed in an embarrassing position. It had two choices, neither of which fit its chosen policy: the boat could be allowed to go ahead, which would strenghen the anti-war movement, or it could be stopped, which would show clearly to the watching world the inhumaneness of its Vietnam policy. The decision was finally made at the White House. The *Phoenix* was allowed to proceed to Vietnam, where it received a warm welcome.

On a second trip, *Phoenix* attempted a similar mission to what was then South Vietnam. This time the South Vietnamese government, with U.S. help, repelled repeated attempts at delivering the medical supplies. The *Phoenix* finally sailed to Cambodia instead.

see **Nonviolent Struggle Around the World (War Resisters League 1978 calendar), and **Voyage of the Phoenix** (film by Canadian Broadcasting Co.)

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 12-C

The first time the White House was ever picketed was in 1917 by Women's Suffragists. They began picketing Woodrow Wilson during the patriotic fervor of World War I: President Wilson was spurring people on with the slogan, "Make the World Safe For Democracy," when half the adult citizens of the United States were denied their voting rights on the basis of sex. At first no one interfered officially, but when picketers were still there after six months, more and more women were arrested. Jail sentences were progressively lengthened. But public sympathy began to grow. People who objected to Women's Suffrage objected even more strongly to the cruel way the Suffragists were treated. Wilson's stands for 'democracy' but against women's right to vote presented such a dilemma to him that he was finally forced to include Women's suffrage as one of his war aims.

As Alice Paul, one of the militant leaders, explained the **dilemma strategy**, "If a creditor stands before a man's house all day long, demanding payment of his bill, the man must either remove the creditor or pay the bill."

see **The Politics of Nonviolent Action (Sharp), pp. 133,141 + 735.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 12-D

In the spring of 1970, the Vietnam War and anti-war activity were at their peak. Early in May, President Nixon surprised the world by escalating the war through an invasion of Cambodia. In Kent, the night the word got out, frayed tempers exploded on the Water Street bar row, the scene of many past fights. This time the police were ordered to close down the bars and the action moved out and grew in the streets.

Saturday night was pretty much the same as the previous night, but crowds moved from downtown toward the campus where the R.O.T.C. building was burned down. It is not clear who was responsible for the arson. Over one hundred students and townspeople were arrested. The situation was tense but not nearly riot-level. Then Governor Rhodes called out the National Guard, who happened to be in nearby Ravenna dealing with a trucking strike disturbance. The Guard members were extremely tired already from too many days and nights on call without sleep in Ravenna. In spite of the situation, classes went on Monday morning. A rally was called, to be held on the Commons, a traditional forum spot, to discuss the Cambodian action. The rally was publicized through normal channels, including an announcement on the commercial radio station in Kent. Perhaps a thousand people gathered, many out of curiosity, some just on their way between classes.

Meanwhile, the governor had apparently issued an order against public assembly. He had lashed out at students, following the earlier lead of President Nixon and Vice President Agnew. The National Guard came to the Commons that Monday noon from the far end, approaching people and asking them to leave. The crowd broke up, going both ways around Taylor Hall on top of the hill above the Commons. The National Guard split up and followed them, as the crowd began to disperse. The Guard contingent on the west side of the building marched up Blanket Hill and down the other side, across a playing field at the bottom and right into a wire fence. Then they turned around and marched back up the hill. At the top, they turned and were ordered to fire at the crowd. Many did fire, later in court claiming self defense. In court, Adjutant General Del Corso stated sixteen times before a grand jury that what happened here was "indiscriminate firing."

Bill Schroeder, 19, was shot dead 380 feet away from the nearest Guardsman (a football field is 300 feet long). Sandy Scheuer, 19, was 390 feet away when killed; Allison Krause, 19, over 345 feet away, and Jeff Miller, 20, the closest, were 265 feet away when killed. Dean Kahler was 300 feet away when he fell to the ground shot; he was shot a second time as he fell. Although he was not killed, the second bullet left him paralyzed for life. Bobby Stamps, 500 feet away, was shot and injured while handing a pretzel to a friend. None of the victims were armed. Five years later, the officer who had said he found a weapon on Jeffrey Miller's body admitted he had lied.

**see K.S.U. Center for Peaceful Change

ALTENATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 12-E

On September 7, 1968, feminists were ready for the annual Atlantic City "Miss America" pageant. A day-long gala "boardwalk theatre" event—including picketing, guerilla theatre, leafletting, and lobbying—was sponsored by a wide variety of women's groups. The object was to protest "the image of Miss America, an image that oppresses women in every area in which it purports to represent us." Demonstrating women contributed to a huge "Freedom Trash Can"—donating such delicacies as girdles, false eyelashes, high heels, and sexist images of women from the media. (It is, however, a myth created by the media that bras were burned.) Only female news reporters were recognized in an effort to avert the inevitable media sensationalism and misrepresentation of the event. The alliance protested on ten counts, including:

—"The Degrading Mindless-Boob-Girlie Symbol" (the judging of women by absurd 'beauty' standards we are conditioned to believe in)

—"Racism and Roses" (There had never been a Miss America winner who was anything other than white)

—"Miss America As Military Death Mascot" (protesting Miss America's yearly use as cheerleader for U.S. troops abroad)

—"The Unbeatable Madonna-Whore Combination" (to 'get a man' or be a success a woman must be both sexy and demure/submissive)

—"Miss America as Dream Equivalent To..." (any boy in the U.S. can supposedly grow up to be President. Women are denied any real power or control over their lives, and are instead patronized with rewards for appearance and 'feminine charm')

The "boardwalk theatre" event touched the imaginations of many who had never thought of Miss America in terms of institutionalized violence against women.

–from **Sisterhood is Powerful** edited by Robin Morgan. pp. 584-588.

SESSION 13: ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE ON THE GLOBAL LEVEL

Goal: To apply concepts and skills for interpersonal and community conflict resolution to global problems.

Materials: "Guess Who's Coming to Breakfast" slideshow
slide projector
cassette tape player
screen
chart model (on board or easel)

Reading due: None.

Plan:

A. Show "Guess Who's Coming to Breakfast." (20)
NOTE: You may wish to substitute another slideshow, "Sharing Global Resources," with older groups if you wish. It is longer, however, and this will severely limit discussion time.

B. Discussion. Here are some questions to ask: (10-15)

How do you feel about belonging to a "global family"?
What is "global responsibility"?
Consider the relationship of the individual to the world, particularly beyond national boundaries.
What does it mean to be a world citizen?
Should individuals like us become involved in world affairs? In what ways? Why?

C. Discuss the chart "Conflict Resolution on Three Levels: Personal, Community, and Global" (see chart on next page). Ask people to share with the group ways in which they may have exercised global responsibility through travel, study, boycotts, and so forth. Fill in the chart with these examples. (5-10)

D. Make assignments for the next session:
1. Reading.
2. Suggested question to address in journal: What role do I (or can I) have in confronting violence at the global level?

Chart model * for Session 13. C.

CONFLICT RESOLUTION
ON THREE LEVELS

PERSONAL	COMMUNITY	GLOBAL
*ACTIVE LISTENING FACT FINDING	*-Hearings -Research -Investigative reporting -Discussion of community issues with various people -Awareness of local news	-Travel -Study of other cultures -International organizations -Investigative reporting -Awareness of international news (via TV, radio, newspapers, and so on)
LEADING FACILITATING	-Legislation -Community organizing efforts -Executive action -Personal witness -Education	-Government leadership -United Nations -Disarmament movements -Research to develop appropriate technology
NEGOTIATING	-Use of the courts -Legislative hearings and debates -Union-Management negotiation -Town, school, and neighborhood meetings -Community mediation centers	-Diplomacy -World court -Trade agreements -International non-governmental organizations -U.N. Special Sessions and General Assembly meetings
PRACTICING ACTIVE NONVIOLENCE	-Letters to government representatives -Lobbying -Public speaking -Demonstrations -Voting -Relief work -Boycotts -Strikes -Political campaigns -Civil disobedience -"Alternatives to violence:" teaching, learning, and practicing	-U.N. campaigns (for the New International Economic Order (NIEO), disarmament, and so on) -Boycotts of goods, trade, or services -Trade embargoes -Relief work -Nonviolent civilian national defense

*Leader draws the chart on the board and fills in the major headings (words in capital letters); group members brainstorm to fill in the right-hand spaces (words in lower case letters are examples which the leader can use to supplement the group's ideas).

SESSION 14: NONVIOLENT NATIONAL DEFENSE

Goals: 1. To address honestly our personal attitudes toward national security.
2. To explore creative methods of nonviolent civilian national defense.

Materials: World map

Reading due: Cases # 14. A-F.
"Disregarded History" (G. Sharp)

Plan:

A. Map exercise. Have group members point out the major "hot spots" around the world (i.e. places where wars are taking place or conflicts could easily develop into wars). Ask what is happening in each place, and why. (5-10)

B. Pick one "hot spot" with which most group members are familiar, develop together a fairly detailed scenario showing how the conflict or the war began and developed. (10)

Discuss how wars generally begin and what causes wars. Then ask:

Has nuclear weapons technology changed the ways wars happen or could happen?

C. Define nonviolent national defense: (20-25)

Nonviolent defense entails total, collective, non-cooperation with the attacking force.

Examples include striking (a general strike would mean everyone would refuse to work; this would, in effect, shut down the country or area); boycotting goods or services or meetings of the attacking or the occupying group; closing down communication systems, power systems, and so forth; removing street signs to make it more difficult to arrest dissenters...

Discuss (in smaller working groups if people wish) the concept of national security, using these questions:

What makes us feel more secure? less secure?
What would we need to learn and do in order to move closer to a more secure United States?
How do you feel about the disarmament movement?
How do you feel about U.S. weapons sales to other countries?
How do you feel about the amount of money the U.S. government spends for the military vs. other programs?

(Session 14, continued)

(C) How do you feel about the "Soviet Threat"? What can we do as individuals and as a nation, to lessen the tension between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.?

D. Make assignments for the next session:
   1. Reading.
   2. Suggested questions to address in journal: see section C, above.

Optional Sections: (20-60)

-This exercise can make the national defense concepts more "real" to younger groups, if time permits. Create, as a group, and act out, a scenario involving nonviolent national defense here in the United States in the year 2000.

-Discuss the "peace" or "disarmament" movements in the U.S. with which group members are familiar:
   -What alternatives does the peace movement suggest for national defense and national security?
   -How does each of us feel about the peace movement?

NOTE--Additional resources on nonviolent civilian national defense and the roots of war:

-AFSC. In Place of War.
-AFSC. Costa Rica: Country Without an Army.
-Barnet, Richard. Global Reach (on multinational corporations).
-Gregg, Richard. The Power of Nonviolence.
-Liddell Hart, Sir Basil. Strategy: the Indirect Approach.
-Roberts, Adam, ed. Civilian Resistance as National Defense.
-Sharp, Gene. The Politics of Nonviolent Action (3 book series).

DISREGARDED HISTORY
The Power of Nonviolent Action

by Gene Sharp

American Colonial Nonviolence, Circa 1776

In the 18th century, here in this part of North America, the European settlers used a great deal of violence against indigenous Americans, and then against the Africans who were imported. Nevertheless, the European settlers conducted major campaigns of nonviolent struggle against English controls, particularly for the ten-year period from 1765 to 1775. This was on a scale and significance which may require, when it is more fully researched, a major reinterpretation of American history-which may lead to a reassessment of the relevance and importance of the war of independence.

There were three separate campaigns, each of which involved economic resistance. It is possible that this is the first major case of international economic sanctions on record.

Daniel Dulany, in the pamphlet he wrote on resistance to the Stamp Act in October of 1765, describes certain basic characteristics of political nonviolent struggle. (Now you'll notice I'm discussing on the political level, not on the religious or moral level.) Dulany said, "Instead of moping and whining to excite compassion, in such a situation we ought with spirit and vigor and alacrity to bid defiance to tyranny by exposing its impotence, by making it as contemptible as it would be detestable." Here is the fundamental conception that you can make tyranny helpless by refusing cooperation with it. So he advocated building up economic production within the colonies to make them self-reliant. They could then sever trade relations with England, which would hurt the English merchants, and consequently this would put leverage on the English government to repeal the Stamp Act.

George Washingon, Nonviolent Strategist

Did you ever think of George Washington as a nonviolent strategist? During this Stamp Act struggle courts were required to use stamps on official documents. The colonists had decided not to use the stamps. So the question became: "Do the courts remain open without using the stamps, or do the courts close down?" This was in the context of colonists conducting a massive campaign to refuse to pay debts they owed to the English merchants from whom the colonial merchants had purchased thier products on credit. Walpole regarded this as the most effective weapon which the colonists wielded. So George Washington advised that they should close down the courts, of course. Obeying the law was impossible., You close the courts, Washington reasoned, because if you close the courts, the courts cannot be used in an effort to collect the money which the colonists were refusing to pay to the English merchants. Therefore, the English merchants would put pressure on their government to repeal the Stamp Act. Very sophisticated nonviolent strategy, calculating effects and counter-effects of specific types of noncooperation.

Thomas Jefferson, Faster

Did you know that Thomas Jefferson with his colleagues introduced fasting in the colonial struggle? When the spirit of the resistance was weakening at certain points and people were getting bored, he and his friends (who were known rather as playboys, always going out and dancing) got the very respected and staid chaplain of the Virginia House of Burgesses to propose as his own idea a day of fasting and prayer - for political resistance. It was passed by the House of Burgesses and all of Virginia had a day of fasting and prayer - for political

resistance. It wasn't Gandhi who introduced fasting as a political weapon at all.

Later during 1765, Governor Bernard of Massachusettes Bay said:"At this time I have no real authority in this place."And Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusettes Bay said; "in the capital towns of several of the colonies and of this in particular, the authority is in the populace. No law can be carried into execution against their minds." There were cases - significant cases - of the burning of buildings and destruction of property during the Stamp Act resistance. Men who had accepted appointments as stamp distributors were threatened with physical attack and even death and run out of town. But not one person was killed.

During the Townshend resistance, in January 1769, for example, a London newspaper reported that because of the refusal of taxes and the refusal to import British goods, only 3,500 pounds sterling of revenue had been produced in the colonies. The American non-importation and non-consumption campaign was estimated by the same newspaper at that point to have cost British business not a mere 3,500 pounds but 7,250,000 pounds in lost income. Those figures may not have been accurate, but they are significant of the perceptions of the time. The attempt to collect the tax against that kind of opposition was not worth the effort and the futility of trying eventually became apparent.

Have you ever heard someone argue, "We've tried war. We know that's bad. Now let's try nonviolence. It's never been tried. It's worth a try." Nonsense. There is a vast history of this type of action going back as far as we have records.

The abolition of war does not require an anti-war, anti-military lobby and demonstrations and protest, but the development of effective nonviolent alternatives to military struggle.

As the American movement developed, a radical fringe began to talk the rhetoric of violence. The militia, which the colonies had had for many, many decades, were deliberately developed. Some people began to foresee the movement shifting over to war. But this was not universal, and not preferred by even many radicals. The Suffolk Resolves, passed by the delegates of Suffolk County of Massachusettes Bay in 1774, recognized that violence was possible and the colonists should be ready for violence if it came. However, they recommended instead a different type of struggle - like they had been using: "We would heartily recommend to all persons of this community not to engage in any routs, riots or licentious attacks upon the properties of any persons whatsoever, as being subversive of all order and government; but by a steady, many, uniform, and perservering opposition, to convince our enemies that in a contest so important - in a cause so solemn, our conduct shall be such as to merit the approbation of the wise, and the admiration of the brave and free of every age and of every country."

On the basis of such thought and the Virginia Association, the First Continental Congress developed a sophisticated, phased program of economic and political non-cooperation. First, it began with a non-importation campaign, to be followed , if necessary, by a non-exportation campaign. The First Continental Congress program of resistance was called the "Continental Association." It was a program of nonviolent resistance and the First Continental Congress was a nonviolent resistance organization. It was a program implemented throughout the colonies, so well developed, so sophisticated, that its equal was probably not seen until Gandhi's work in India. Going along with this was a program of enforcement of these provisions in the colonies with such complete solidarity that the very enforcement organizations in many cases gradually became instruments of local government. Development of parallel governmental institutions also occurred on a colony-wide basis, sometimes in deliberate defiance of British-appointed governors. It has been estimated that in 9 or 10 of the 13 colonies, British governmental power had already been effectively and illegally replaced by substitute governments before Lexington and Con-

cord. The Continental Congress was known as "the Congress." Its measures of resistance were known as "laws." British power had de facto collapsed in most of the colonies before a shot was fired. In Maryland, for example, an entire substitute government had taken over.

Considering the de facto independence of most of the colonies by 1775, with the emergence of an inter-colonial confederation-type of government and the experience in the Stamp Act struggles and the Townshend resistance, it is very possible that British power might have totally collapsed de jure short of the eight years which it took for the War of Independence. Rather than the war having speeded up independence, it may very well have postponed it.

Governor Dunmore of Virginia suggested that the "laws of Congress," as he put it, receive from Virginians "Marks of reverence they never bestowed on their legal Government, or the laws preceding from it." He added: "I have discovered no incidence where the interdisposition of Government, in the feeble state to which it is reduced, could serve any other purpose than to suffer the disgrace of a disappointment, and thereby afford matter of great exultation to its enemies and increase their influence over the minds of the people."

At the same time, there was significant support in England for the movement (though not as strong as during the Stamp Act resistance). The extent of the support, and the reasoning for it, should be researched and analyzed. Part of the Continental Association (the program of resistance of the Continental Congress) contained this phrase: " . . .we are of the opinion that a non-importation, non-consumption and non-exportation agreement, faithfully adhered to, will prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceable measure..."

And in Massachusetts, already in early 1774, the Governor-Governor Gage-wrote that "All legislative, as well as all executive power, is gone..."Governor Gage made a similar report later in the year. So we must remember that, disregarded as it is in present portrayals of America's Revolution, the American colonials, too, have a highly important place in the history of nonviolent struggle.

Dr.Sharp, Research Fellow of Harvard University's Program for Science and International Affairs, is the author of The Politics of Nonviolent Action (Porter Sargent), a massive study of the nature of nonviolent struggle as a social and political technique.

Other books by Dr. Sharp include Social Power and Political Freedom, which outlines 20 steps for developing and evaluating Nonviolent Alternatives and Ganhi As A Political Strategist. The latter two available from Porter Sargent, 11 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108

Excerpted from an essay by Dr. Sharp in Fellowship, (May,76) by Susan D. Hadley, Nyack, New York

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 14-A

The native Maori Indians of New Zealand were in the stone age when the English colonists first landed. They were cannibals. They did not have modern weapons, so it was easy for the English to take over more and more of the Maori land by force. One chief, however, had considerable wisdom. When he learned that English armed forces were about to attack his village, he called the tribe together and pointed out that the English were invading with guns. The Maoris could try to defend themselves with their spears and stones, but he had another idea. He asked the men and boys to gather in the village center without weapons, the women to make cakes and other food, and the children to dress in their brightest garments and to gather flowers and make wreaths. The latter he sent to meet the invaders with songs, dances and games! The invading soldiers, of course, were dumbfounded, and all they could do was follow the celebrating procession back to the village. There the chief stepped forward and greeted his would-be attackers with great dignity and friendliness. All the English soldiers could do was accept the hospitality and refreshments. Then they withdrew, leaving the Maoris in full possession of their land. This was said to be the last British expedition against the Maoris.

see **Courage in Both Hands (Hunter), pp. 122-123; and **Nonviolent Struggle Around the World** (War Resisters League 1978 calendar.)

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 14-B

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Austrians were trying to subordinate the Hungarians to their power, contrary to the original treaty of the union, which called for equal participation. The Hungarians were feeling helpless, being too weak to fight. Fenenc Deak, a Catholic landowner, urged action, saying, "The nation that submits to injustice and oppression without protest is doomed." His plan was to refuse, non-violently, all recognition and support of the Austrian government. He started to organize a plan for independent Hungarian education, agriculture, industry, and a boycott of Austrian goods. He warned the Hungarian people not to be betrayed into acts of violence or to abandon legality. "This," he said, "is the safe ground on which unarmed ourselves we can hold our ground against armed force. If suffering must be necessary, suffer with dignity."

The Austrian tax collector came. He was treated respectfully; he just wasn't paid. The Austrian police levied upon Hungarian property to settle the tax liens. They were not resisted. However, no Hungarian auctioneer would handle the necessary sale of the property. Austrian auctioneers came. No one would bid. It was too expensive to bring in Austrian bidders.

The Austrians decided that some sort of military occupation was necessary and tried to billet Austrian soldiers in Hungarian homes. But the Austrian soldiers so hated living with families who ignored and despised them, that, in spite of no physical violence, they protested loudly against this duty. The boycott of Austrian goods was declared illegal, but Hungarians defied the decree. The jails were overflowing. No Hungarian would sit in the Imperial parliament. The Austrians tried reconciliation, prisoner release, and partial self government, but Hungary insisted on its full rights. For this the Austrian emperor decreed compulsory military training, but when the Hungarians said they'd refuse, he capitulated. On February 18, 1867, Hungary received its constitution as sought. Without arms or violence, but with patience and perserverance, the Hungarians won complete victory.

see **Nonviolence (Miller), pp. 238-239; and **The Power of Nonviolence** (Gregg), pp. 15-16, and **The Quiet Battle** (Sibley), pp. 137-155.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 14-C

At one time during the occupation of Denmark, the Nazis ordered all Jews to wear the Star of David to identify them for future deportation to the dreaded concentration camps and gas chambers. When this happened, who appeared in public with the Star of David ostentatiously displayed on his chest? None other than King Christian himself, the Danish king. Others soon took the cue: all Danes began wearing the Star of David, and the Nazis were forced to give up their plans. The king stated publicly that if a Jewish ghetto were established, he would move from his palace into such a place. He ceremoniously attended a special celebration in a Copenhagen synagogue to show his love and support for Jewish Danes. The Danish people protected and hid Jews from the Nazis. It is in fact claimed by some that not a single Danish Jew was killed by the Nazis. Could violent resistance have been so effective?

see **The Power of Nonviolence (Gregg), p. 29; and **Nonviolence** (Miller), p. 252.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 14-D

By Rojand E. Wolseley

Strikes by civil servants and closings of bazaars and shops by business people in Kabul and other Afghanistan cities are counteractions to the presence of the U.S.S.R.

Afghanistan, after all, is separated from India only by Kashmir, which is under India's control. And it was in India under Mohandas K. Gandhi that many strategies were used effectively in the 1920s against Britain.

The techniques of non-violent resistance, while by no means historically restricted to the indian subcontinent, fit well into the Afghanistan situation, although not entirely in textbook fashion.

They are strategies particularly suitable when an oppressor is militarily too strong to be dealt with by physical weapons. Depending upon how much military assistance is available to the Moslem Insurgents and how effective they are in using it, the non-violent resistance may be either a preliminary softening-up device or may develop into a regular policy as it did in India and in Denmark against the Nazis.

If reports that the government of President Babrak Karmal is falling are correct, the failure of his regime may be the first victory of the protesting strikers. And if resistance to the Soviets continues in civil protests, we may see a repetition of several other strategies used elsewhere.

In India, Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders less widely known in the Unites States led the rank and file opposition to the British colonial rulers.

Gandhi planned the campaigns. He first warned the people against hatred of the British or anyone else. Then he asked them to refuse to pay taxes, to defend themselves without violence if attacked, to go to jail gladly for their disobedience, to have nothing to do with lawlessness, such as cutting telegraph wires and destroying buildings, and to publish underground papers.

Skeptics about the efficacy of such strategies say the British rulers were not oppressors like the Soviets. They were more humane. But their humanity was challenged at many points, most dramatically at Dharsana during the famous instance of the salt flats march. Gandhi had already been imprisoned, but one of his sons and others led the advance.

The unarmed satyagrahis, as the believers in non-violent resistance were called, marched on as their battering continued. Two were killed and 320 wounded by 435 Indian police commanded by British officers. Armed with long clubs tipped with steel, the police swung them on the line of marchers, kicking the men and women once they were down.

After hours of that brutality enough of the Indian police could no longer carry on in the face of the satyagrahis' courage and the assault ended.

But such "decent" oppressors were not even in Denmark in 1940, when Germany occupied that country. The ruthless Nazi military machine was not resisted with force; there was neither time nor ability to do so.

King Christian refused to comply with Nazi demands. The people defied the invaders by helping Jews to escape or sheltering them in their homes. For two and a half years Danes refused to work in either Germany or Norway (which also was overrun).

In Denmark they worked badly for the Germans, took part in slowdowns, refused to go into theaters if German military entered, would not trade or do business with them, and secretly printed illegal newspapers, some of which now are major dailies in Copenhagen. Although under house arrest, King Christian each day rode, erect on

his horse, through Copenhagen to encourage his people.

The campaign was effective until the Danes were persuaded by the Allies to resort to violence.

Whether the Moslem insurgents plan to attack the Soviet presence with both violent and non-violent tactics simultaneously is not yet clear. The strength of their military defense has surprised the Russians. Non-cooperation has slowed the occupation and could make matters still more difficult for the U.S.S.R.

Wolseley, a resident of Syracuse, is the author or co-author of four books about India, where he worked for more than a year.

From the Cleveland **Plain Dealer**, March 7, 1980.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 14-E

In 1971, it was U.S. government policy to support the military dictatorship in Pakistan, which was then exploiting and killing the people of East Bengal (now called Bangladesh). A group of North American non-violent activists successfully challenged and eventually helped to change this policy. Well-known performing artists like Joan Baez wrote songs to influence public opinion on the issue. Material aids support was sent by U.S. citizens directly to the people of Bangladesh. Public education on the issue brought about massive pressure on Congress to cut off military aid to Pakistan. Not the least of U.S. activism was the formation of a "non-violent fleet" of canoes, kayaks, and other small boats. Slipping by the Coast Guard and police vessels, the fleet met Pakistani freighters in the Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York harbors, blockading the huge trade ships to prevent them from landing. One Pakistani ship was turned around in the Delaware River in Philadelphia. Another docked, only to encounter picketers and the refusal of the local dockworkers' union to load or unload. Many times, police were able to break through the "blockade" and get Pakistani boats in, but the news coverage of the tiny boats of the nonviolent "fleet" confronting the huge freighters was so dramatic that public opinion was swayed in favor of the activists, and U.S. military aid to Pakistan was cut off.

–see "Canoes Block Arms to Pakistan," by Dick Taylor, in **Nonviolent Struggle Around the World** (W.R.L. 1978 Peace Calendar.) Also Movement for a New Society, 4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19104.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 14-F

When half a million Soviet and Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia in August, 1968, they expected to take over the country easily—within a matter of a few days. Instead, they encountered massive non-violent resistance by the people of Czechoslovakia. Even though spontaneous and untrained, the resistance movement was able to prevent Soviet military takeover for a full eight months. The Soviets were forced to negotiate with the very Czech government officials they had planned to replace.

Immediately upon hearing of the invasion, Czechoslovakians began their resistance. The Czech news agency would not issue the Soviet press release saying that the invasion had been requested by members of their government. A clandestine radio network was set up instead, issuing counter statements. The National Assembly and other government bodies were able to meet and make it clear they opposed the invasion. Workers all over Czechoslovakia held one hour general strikes. Rail workers slowed the transport of military-related equipment from the USSR. The underground radio continued to broadcast, playing a vital role in preventing rumors, responding to emergencies (like finding people to harvest the potatoes and hops), and reporting important information as it became available. Compare eight months of civilian resistance, which resulted in a compromise with the Soviets, to the estimate that the Czech army would have been able to hold out for four days. The compromise reached, called the Moscow Protocol, while far from perfect, set the stage for the increasing independence of European communist countries, and for a massive Eastern European human rights movement still progressing today.

–see Gene Sharp **The Politics of Nonviolent Action**, the Fellowship of the Reconciliation's flier, "Disregarded History," and the WRL 1978 Peace Calendar.

SESSION 15: NONVIOLENCE AS A PHILOSOPHY OR A LIFESTYLE

Goals: 1. To learn about various nonviolent philosophies.
2. To consider individually nonviolence as it relates to our own philosophy of life.

Materials: Materials related specifically to the institution or religious group involved in the course (if applicable) OPTIONAL.

Reading due: Cases # 15. A-F.
"Readings on Pacifism

Plan:

A. Discuss the reading: examples of situations or philosophies in which nonviolence has been central to a person's way of life. (20)

How did each one apply active nonviolence to her/his life? Can you think of other people who have lived by a strong belief in nonviolence?

As facilitator, share your own definition of pacifism (see Glossary). Distinguish clearly between pacifism--a belief in peace--and passivity--non-action. Ask others in the group to share their definitions or concepts of pacifism, especially if they differ from what has already been said.

NOTE: Sessions 15 and 16 are an ideal occasion for discussion of the specific philosophy, history and frame of reference of the group or organization holding the ATV workshop. For example, a religious group may have documents of its own regarding violence, nonviolence, disarmament and/or global responsibility. See list (below) of additional resources on pacifism and nonviolent philosophy.

B. In small groups, share opinions and feelings: (15)

-Ask yourself: Would I ever be a pacifist? Why or why not?
-Do I feel competent to confront some kinds of violence in nonviolent ways? Which kinds?
-How does nonviolence fit into my philosophy of life?
-In what ways am I nonviolent?

C. Quick evaluation: (5)

-What have you liked best about the ATV workshop so far?
-What would you like to see changed/added/taken out before the end of the course?

(Session 15, continued)

D. Make assignments for the next session:
   1. Reading.
   2. Suggested questions to address in journal:
      -Why be nonviolent in opposing violence?
      -Am I or would I ever be a pacifist? Why?

NOTE: Additional resources on pacifism and nonviolent philosophy:

-AFSC. Taking Charge (on simple living).
-Bondurant, Joan. Conquest of Violence: the Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict.
-Conscientious Objector literature from:
  American Friends Service Committee
  National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors
  CCCO/An Agency for Military & Draft Counseling
-Coover, V. et.al. Resource Manual for a Living Revolution.
-Douglass, James. The Nonviolent Cross.
-Gregg, Richard. The Power of Nonviolence.
-King, Martin Luther, Jr. Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?
-Luthuli, Albert. Let My People Go: An Autobiography (on South Africa).
-Lynd, Alice. We Won't Go: Personal Accounts of War Objectors.
-MacAllister, Pam. Reweaving the Web of Life: Feminism and Nonviolence.
-Meyerding, J. ed. We Are All Part of One Another: A Barbara Deming Reader.
-Prutzman, P. et.al. A Friendly Classroom for a Small Planet.
-Reardon, Betty. Discrimination.
-Solomonow, A. Roots of Jewish Nonviolence.
-Stringfellow, William. An Ethic for Christians and Other Aliens in a Strange Land.
-Stadtler, Bea. The Holocaust: A History of Courage and Resistance.

READINGS ON PACIFISM

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE: from "A NEW CHINA POLICY–SOME QUAKER PROPOSALS"

But who, our readers may ask, are we-- a handful of Quakers, speaking only for ourselves– to set ourselves up as teachers, with our limited knowledge and experience? The question is a fair one, and we speak humbly, with an acute sense of our limitations. But speak we must. We believe there is an inward teacher, to which through our lives we have tried to listen and to which we believe all people everywhere can attend. By this inward teacher we are convinced that there is a way of death, and a way of life. The way of death is the way of threat and violence, hatred and malevolence, rigid ideology and obsessive nationalism. This way is all too easy to find. The way of life is harder to find; it is uphill, and takes hard work of mind and body and, even more difficult, purification of spirit. Neither rulers, nor parties, nor nations, nor ideologies, nor religions can command the legitimate loyalties of people unless they serve the way of life. Nothing but the truth has divine right. Hard as it is to find, we believe the way of life can and must be found, and we urge all people everywhere to dedicate their lives to its finding.

--excerpted by Isabel Bliss, of Chelsea, Michigan

ANDREA DWORKIN

In my view, any commitment to nonviolence which is real, which is authentic, must begin in the recognition of the forms and degrees of violence perpetuated against women by the gender class men. Any analysis of violence, or any commitment to act against it, that does not begin there is hollow, meaningless--a sham which will have,as its direct consequence, the perpetuation of our servitude. In my view, any male apostle of so-called nonviolence who is not comitted, body and souls, to ending the violence against us is not trustworthy . . .He is someone to whom our lives are invisible.

--from "Redefining Nonviolence"(1975), excerpted by Janey Meyerding of Seattle, Washington

THOMAS MERTON

Has non-violence been found wanting? Yes and no. It has been found wanting wherever it has been the non-violence of the weak. It has not been found so when it has been the non-violence of the strong. What is the difference? It is a difference of language. The language of spurious non-violence is merely another, more equivocal form of the language of power. It is a different method of expressing one's will to power. It is used and conceived and pragmatically, in reference to the seizure of power. But that is not what non-violence is about. *Non- violence is not for power but for truth.* It is not pragmatic but prophetic. It is not aimed at immediate political results but at the manifestation of fundamental and crucially important truth. Non-violence is not primarily the language of efficacy, but the language of *kairos*.

If we want a better world, we must be prepared to do some careful thinking. It is time we stopped being sketchy on a matter that touches us all so closely. For in reality this matter of handling conflict constructively is of immediate concern to everyone who has ever been angry or afraid, resentful, revengeful or bitter; who has ever taken part in a fight, mob violence or war; or who has been the object of anger, hatred, exploitation or oppression. It touches all those who are troubled lest the vast economic, political and social questions that are pressing upon all nations will issue in still more appalling violence and increased insecurity for everyone, or even destruction of the human race. It is also important to those who hope that somehow the ideals of mankind can be made practical and harmonized with its conduct.

For too long we have considered peace as the absence of conflict. We have approached the issue with this limited perspective and have directed our attention to the prevailing conflict of the moment, attempting to discover ways of reducing the destructiveness of the event. This approach is both necessary and desirable, but insufficient as we continue to approach the problem in a fragmented and isolated way. We continue to deal in symptomatic terms as war and destruction and violence are the extensions and natural outgrowths of malignant attitudes, values, relationships and beliefs that we continue to embrace.

The first signs of a violent society appear in its basic inability to communicate. Words lose their meaning and become hollow. They are twisted and deformed as tools of manipulation and servitude. Noble words such as truth, goodness and love may come to mean despotism, obedience and death. Peace becomes another name for multi-headed war missiles, and non-violence is wrenched to mean silence, or lack of opposition to thievery, privilege and the status quo.

Violence

Violence can be seen as destructive communication. Any adequate definition must include physical, verbal, symbolic, psychological and spiritual displays of hostility and hatred. The definition must include both our acts and our inactions and that which is done directly to people or indirectly to them through what they esteem. Many forms will take on a combination of these characteristics.

Violence should then include physical acts against another (i.e., the range of acts from personal attack to war, that which violates human autonomy and integrity); verbal attacks that demean and humiliate; symbolic acts that evoke fear and hostility; psychological attitudes that deny one's humanity and equality (legal, institutional and moral); spiritual postures that communicate racism, inferiority and worthlessness (i.e., beliefs and values that demean or categorize). Violence then becomes a dynamic rather than merely an act.

Hunger, poverty, squalor, privilege, powerlessness, riches, despair, and vicarious living are forms of violence–forms that a society approves and perpetuates. We have been too willing to discuss violence in terms of ghetto uprisings, student unrest, street thievery and trashing, and have been unwilling to direct our attention to the more pathological types of violence that are acceptable–the types that daily crunch the humanity and life from untold millions of brothers and sisters.

In the sixties we spoke with alarm of the "increase of violence" in our society, which may be a half-truth: violence became more democratic in the decade of the sixties. Instead of resting exclusively with those who construct and maintain ghettos, keep food from the mouths of children and coerce the young through educational programming and into war, violence became the tool of a widely divergent group seeking equality, power and redress.

MOHANDAS K. GANDHI

Whatever may be the result, there is always in me a conscious struggle for following the law of non-violence deliberately and ceaselessly. Such a struggle leaves one stronger for it. Non-violence is a weapon of the strong. With the weak it might easily be hypocrisy. Fear and love are contradictory terms. Love is reckless in giving away, oblivious as what it gets in return. Love wrestles with the world as with the self and ultimately gains mastery over all other feelings. My daily experience, as of those who are working with me, is that every problem lends itself to a solution if we are determined to make the law of truth and non-violence the law of life. For truth and non-violence are, to me, faces of the same coin.

The law of love will work, just as the law of gravitation will work, whether we accept it or not. Just as a scientist will work wonders out of various applications of the law of nature, even so a man who applies the law of love with scientific precision can work greater wonders. For the force of non-violence is infinitely more wonderful and subtle than the material forces of nature, like, for instance, electricity. The men who discovered for us the law of love were greater scientists than any of our modern scientists. Only our explorations have not gone far enough and so it is not possible for everyone to see all its workings. Such, at any rate, is the hallucination, if it is one, under which I am laboring. The more I work at this law the more I feel the delight in life, the delight in the scheme of this universe. It gives me a peace and a meaning of the mysteries of nature that I have no power to describe.

My experience, daily growing stronger and richer, tells me that there is no peace for individuals or for nations without practicing truth and nonviolence to the uttermost extent possible for 'man'. The policy of retaliation has never succeeded.

Young India, December 15, 1927

BARBARA DEMING

What is it that those who advocate nonviolent revolution believe most essentially? They believe, in the first place, what most Americans supposedly believe--solemnly recite in school, from the Declaration of Independence: that all of us are born with certain inalienable rights. (The text reads "all men," but let us assume that this was meant to stand for all men and women. Or was it--even rhetorically? It was, of course, not meant at that time to apply to black people.) Inalienable rights. Rights, that is, not to be taken from us under any circumstances. Among these rights the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness. . .The advocate of nonviolence believes--and finds an irresistable logic in believing--that the only way to bring such a future into full being is to begin right now as best we can--though this will be at first imperfectly, since we are caught still in the habits of the past--begin nevertheless to act out that respect for one another, right now.

--from "New Men, New Women: Some Notes on Nonviolence"(1971)

CESAR CHAVEZ

Many people feel that an organization that uses non-violent methods to reach its objectives must continue winning victories one after another in order to remain non-violent. If that be the case, then a lot of efforts have been miserable failures. There is a great deal more involved than victories. My experience has been that the poor know violence more intimately than most people because it has been a part of their lives, whether the violence of the gun or the violence of want and need.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

I do not want to give the impression that nonviolence will work miracles overnight. Men are not easily moved from their mental ruts or purged of their predjudiced and irrational feelings. When the underprivileged demand freedom, the privileged first react with bitterness and resistance. Even when the demands are couched in nonviolent terms, the initial response is the same. I am sure that many of our white brothers in Montgomery and across the south are still bitter toward Negro leaders, even though these leaders have sought to follow a way of love and nonviolence. So the nonviolent approach does not immediately change the hearts of the oppressor. It first does something to the hearts and souls of those committed to it. It gives them a new self-respect; it calls up resources of strength and courage that they did not know they had. Finally, it reaches the opponent and so stirs his conscience that reconciliation becomes a reality.

Due to my involvement in the struggle for the freedom of my people, I have known very few quiet days in the last few years. I have been arrested twice. A day seldom passes that my family and I are not the recipients of threats of death. I have been the victim of a near-fatal stabbing. So in a real sense I have been battered by the storms of persecution. I must admit that at times I have felt that I could no longer bear such a heavy burden, and have been tempted to retreat to a more quiet and serene life. But every time such a temptation appeared, something came to strengthen and sustain my determination. I have learned now that the Master's burden is light precisely when we take his yoke upon us.

My personal trials have also taught me the value of unmerited suffering. As my sufferings mounted I soon realized that there were two ways that I could respond to my situation: either to react with bitterness or seek to transform the suffering into a creative force. I decided to follow the latter course. Recognizing the necessity for suffering I have tried to make of it a virtue. If only to save myself from bitterness, I have attempted to see my personal ordeals as an opportunity to transform myself and heal the people involved in the tragic situation which now obtains. I have lived these last few years with the conviction that unearned suffering is redemptive.

NAPOLEON

Do you know, Fantanes, what astonishes me most
in this world? The inability of force to create anything.
In the long run the sword is always beaten by the spirit.

Under the umbrella of violence there reside two distinctively different phenomena. First there is the violence of men and women who act out of frustration, hoplessness and anger in an attempted grasp at life--the act of the slave breaking the chains, which is understandable and inevitable as long as some humans are in bondage. The other type of violence is the violence of the respectable, the violence of the powerful that seeks personal gain and privilege by maintaining inhuman conditions. It is the violence of the board rooms, legislators and jurists—the white collar violence that pours surplus milk down sewers, robs workers of their wages.

Non-violence

Non-violence cannot then be understood as passivity or indifference to the dynamic of life (i.e., communication between men). It is not the posture of removing oneself from conflict that marks the true non-violent man, but quite on the contrary, it is placing oneself at the heart of the dynamic. *Non-violence means taking the responsibility for aiding the direction of human communication and brotherhood. Non-violence means an active opposition to those acts and attitudes that demean and brutalize another, and it means an active support of those values and expressions that foster human solidarity. Non-violence,* in essence, *means taking a stand in favor of life and refusing to delegate individual moral responsibility to another person or group; it means taking control of one's life and aiding others in doing likewise. Non-violence is an attempt to find truth and love even in the midst of hatred, destruction and pride.*

As the means cannot be separated from the desired ends, non-violence cannot be separated from peace, for it is the value system and dynamic that makes peace possible.

DANIEL BERRIGAN, S.J.

The time is past when good men may be silent
when obedience
can segregate men from public risk
when the poor can die without defense
How many indeed must die
before our voices are heard
how many must be tortured dislocated
starved maddened?
How long must the world's resources
be raped in the service of legalized murder?
When at what point will you say no to this war?
We have chosen to say
with the gift of our liberty
if necessary our lives:
the violence stops here
the death stops here
the suppression of the truth stops here
this war stops here.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 15-A

The "Salt March" was one of the most famous non-violent actions initiated by Gandhi. In defiance of British police, volunteers walked to the ocean to get their own salt, rather than buying it from the British colonists. Here are excerpts from the New York **Telegram**'s report of May 22, 1930, on the demonstration: The scene "was astonishing and baffling to the Western mind accustomed to see violence met by violence, to expect a blow to be returned and a fight result. During the morning I saw hundres of blows inflicted by the police, but saw not a single blow returned by the volunteers. So far as I could observe the volunteers implicitly obeyed Gandhi's creed of nonviolence. In no case did I see a volunteer even raise an arm to deflect the blows. There were no outcries from the beaten Swarajists, only groans after they had submitted to their beating. ...Much of the time the stolid native Surat police seemed reluctant to strike...I saw many instances of the volunteers pleading with the police to join them...At other times...the beating would be done earnestly...Sometimes the scenes were so painful that I had to turn away momentarily."

see **The Power of Nonviolence (Gregg), pp. 24-26.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 15-B

Most Americans would probably contend that the Civil War and Abraham Lincoln ended slavery. Most probably never heard of John Woolman. Yet John Woolman, who lived in the 18th century, probably did more to end slavery than Abraham Lincoln. How? He dedicated his life and his energy to overcoming the injustice of slavery. His first act was to refuse to write a will for a man in New Jersey who wanted to bequeath his slaves. He travelled extensively through the colonies talking and acting against slavery. He wouldn't wear the traditional blue Quaker hat and overcoat because the indigo was raised using slave labor. As a result of Woolman's efforts and the efforts of those who followed him, the political climate was such that seventy years later Abraham Lincoln could end chattel slavery in the United States.

see **The Journal of John Woolman.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 15-C

SELMA, Ala. — "If I did break the law," Joe T. Smitherman, the self-styled "redneck" mayor of Selma said, "it was the same thing the civil rights marchers and Martin Luther King did here to give black folks the right to vote. And, frankly, they were right."

Smitherman insisted that he also was right when he ordered a fire truck and a police car to block the tracks in two places to keep two Louisville and Nashville trains out of Selma for 15 hours earlier last week until the railroad agreed to repair tracks in its switching yards.

The L and N trains were rolling again Friday. Work crews were hammering spikes, repairing rails and shoring up track beds. And Smitherman, who had blamed three train derailments in four days here on defective tracks is the toast of the town that is no stranger to confrontation.

Thirteen years ago, Selma was an internationally known dateline as King and thousands marched 46 miles from here to Montgomery, the Alabama capitol to seek voting rights for blacks. Smitherman had been elected mayor the year before and, during one of King's demonstrations, had ordered King arrested.

Now in a city that claims to have had 10 derailments in the last decade, Smitherman admits he has just used the kind of encounter tactics that King employed then. He believes that other cities may also use such tactics if America's wave of recent train wrecks continues.

"I haven't got years to wait for the railroads to fix the tracks all over the United States of America," Smitherman said. "Congress is a reactionary body, anyway. Maybe now it will react. It didn't react on the Voting Rights Act until people pushed for it, right?"

Smitherman, 48, a poker-playing, nightlife-loving family man who has been hospitalized after two auto accidents in recent years, wore a yellow polyester leisure suit and tried to relax in his office.

He could not. The phone rang repeatedly. The television program Good Morning, America was among those calling. Between calls, he showed a visitor some of his office decor, which included a silver antique engine bell and other train mementos from his youth when he worked as a railway brakeman.

"Really, I like the railroads," he said. "This is a railroad town. It was here in 1820, back when Montgomery was just a dot on the map and Birmingham was only a coal mine. But somebody had to do something, or we might have had a tragedy like the ones in Tennessee or Florida recently."

Among railroad officials and workers, reaction to Smitherman's defiance was mixed.

Terence O'Brien, general superintendent and chief engineer of Western Railway of Alabama, an L and N subsidiary whose trains travel through Selma, described Smitherman's stand as more than a blockade.

"It was like the Barbary pirates," O'Brien said with some consternation by telephone from Western's headquarters in Atlanta. "The defects were found by the inspectors and noted on Monday, and we had our guys fixing them all day Tuesday. By Wednesday, most of the defects were corrected."

The railroad agreed to make repairs on all its tracks here over the next two weeks. Out on the lines, workmen toiled in the warm springtime sun.

"He (Smitherman) was a little bit out of line," one foreman, who declined to give his name, said. "If he went to the right people, he wouldn't have had to do this. He should have gone right away to the president of the company and demanded that something be done."

But another foreman, Tad Holt of Augusta, generally agreed with the mayor.

"He was probably right," Holt said. "But it's putting a hardship on the railroads to do all this work at one time. The tracks are not in good shape, but I don't think the railroad has been trying to get out of doing anything. It's very costly to make repairs, with labor and materials costing what they do today."

From the **Akron Beacon Journal** April 23, 1978.

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ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 15-D

Henry David Thoreau felt the Mexican War was unjust and did not want either the Mexicans or the Americans to suffer from it. The only effective protest he could see was to refuse to pay the tax being used to finance it. He knew tax resistance would lead to his arrest, and it did.

Thoreau's **Civil Disobedience** inspired Gandhi many years later. Not obeying an unjust law, or obeying a divine law which is in conflict with a secular law, is part of the non-violent technique of civil disobedience. One must realize the consequences, however, and be willing to suffer them in order to inspire and educate others.

see "Which Way the Wind" (AFSC film) and **Civil Disobedience (Thoreau)

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 15-E

In the spring of 1967, a special movement started among those who felt U.S. participation in the Vietnam War was wrong. A pledge campaign was launched to get 500 people, by April 15th, to agree to burn their draft cards. If the number was not reached, no one would be bound by the pledge. By the night of the 14th, only 120 had signed. At the final meeting, however, many felt that even 50 draft cards burned would constitute a significant political act. A show of hands was requested and 57 responded favorably.

The next day a huge number gathered in the Sheep Meadow of Central Park. The Cornell contingent, numbering in the thousands, was led by a large "We Won't Go" banner emblazoned in the school colors. "Burn draft cards, not people," the crowd chanted.

Even an army reservist in "green beret" uniform stepped forward and burned his card—a tremendously courageous act, most thought. More followed. According to Marty Jezer's account, 175 burned their cards that day, more than had signed the pledge.

"...The most important effect of the draft card burning," Marty wrote, "was that it changed the lives of those who took part. (The Movement)...has given people the strength to devote their lives toward the creation of a community where love of one's fellow replaces the profit motive as the highest value."

see **We Won't Go** (Lynd), pp. 220-225.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

CASE 15-F

Ecology teaches us that humankind is not the center of life on the planet. Ecology has taught us that the whole earth is part of our "body" and that we must learn to respect it as we respect ourselves. As we feel for ourselves, we must feel for all forms of life — the whales, the seals, the forests, the seas. The tremendous beauty of ecological thought is that it shows us a pathway back to an understanding and appreciation of life itself — an understanding and appreciation that is imperative to that very way of life.

As with the whales and the seals, life must be saved by non-violent confrontations and by what the Quakers call "bearing witness." A person bearing witness must accept responsibility for being aware of an injustice. That person may then choose to do something or stand by, but he may not turn away in ignorance. The Greenpeace ethic is not only to personally bear witness to atrocities against life; it is to take direct action to prevent them. While action must be direct, it must also be non-violent. We must obstruct a wrong without offering personal violence to its perpetrators. Our greatest strength must be life itself, and the commitment to direct our own lives to protect others.

The Greenpeace Philosophy

SESSION 16: CHANGE MY LIFE?

Goals: 1. To become more aware of the relationship between our own lifestyles and global conflict resolution.
2. To learn ways of affecting global conflicts within our own lives.

Materials: "Global Village" game materials: play money ($5,850+ in fairly small bills), food symbols (use cookies, slices of bread, etc.: 20 pieces), masking tape, colored paper tags.
OPTIONAL: props for a cooperative game if needed (see Appendix 1).

Reading due: "The Various Uses of Nonviolence"

Plan:

A. Play the "Global Village" game. NOTE: the facilitator must have the "continents" and props set up beforehand. (10-15)

Discuss the facts demonstrated in the game in relation to what we know about the international economic order and about the internal economic conditions of the various countries and continents.

-How would you guess armaments are distributed globally, and how is this related to the international economic order?
-How do you feel about this global distribution of resources?
-What can we do--should we do--in our own lives to have some effect on this situation?

B. Define simple living (see Glossary), especially in relation to the quesiton of how we can make our own lifestyles less likely to support, or contribute to, global violence. List on the board examples of local groups, institutions, activities, practices, and so forth that can help us work toward this goal. Possibilities: recycling, co-ops, returnable bottles and cans, vegetarianism, donations to hunger centers, thrift shops, hand lawn mowers, sharing of large appliances and other expensive items with neighbors, carpooling, adoption of orphans...Discuss the relationship between our own lifestyles and global conflict resolution. (25-30)

C. Make assignments for next session:
1. Bring in one news article dealing with violence or nonviolence.
2. Suggested questions to address in journal:
-What is "political" about various aspects of my lifestyle?
-What could I do or change in my life which would have an effect on global problems?

(Session 16, continued)

Optional Section:

To make the workshop more fun and try out what you have been learning, play a cooperative game: a game in which everybody wins--the better the players cooperate, the more successful they are. Instructions for several such games are listed in Appendix 1. NOTE: Some of these games are very quick and are good "light and lively" breathers at any point in the course. They are important for building community in the group and making the class fun and exciting. Perhaps the group can make up its own cooperative game.

Session 16 "GLOBAL VILLAGE" GAME RULES

Set up the game as follows, basing distribution percentages on the chart below.

1. With masking tape, divide the floor area of the room into five parts representing the relative land areas of the five major continents: Africa, Asia (including eastern USSR), Europe (including western USSR), Latin America (which includes, for our purposes, most of Central and all of South America), and North America (US, Canada and Mexico). Do this before participants arrive.
2. Assign participants at random to each continent by relative population (make up tags with continents' names on them in the proper proportion in advance.)
3. Using play money, distribute per capita income to each participant (e.g. for Africa--$250 per person= 40% of the world's per capita income).
4. Using cookies, crackers, or other refreshments (or paper symbols), distribute to each participant the average amount of food consumed per capita on her/his continent (e.g. Asia--one piece per person: continent consumes 5% of the world's food). Be sure participants do not eat the cookies or crackers yet!

Now, play the game.

1. Let the "residents" of each continent talk together briefly and divide the food and money approximately the way they think they are distributed (proportionately) on that continent.
2. Have each "continent" report to the whole group on what resources each resident has. It helps to post the figures on the board so all can see them clearly.
3. Discuss global distribution of resources.
4. Finally, have all participants return to being US citizens (part of the wealthiest country and continent in the world). Discuss how our life-styles affect the inequities in global distribution of resources.

GLOBAL RESOURCE DISTRIBUTION*

Continent	Land Area	Population	Per Capita Income		Per Capita Food	
			Amount	%	# tokens	%
Africa	24%	10%	$ 250	4%	2	10%
Asia	35%	59%	$ 400	7%	1	5%
Europe	8%	17%	$1,300	22%	5	25%
Latin America	17%	8%	$ 500	9%	3	15%
North America	16%	6%	$3,400	58%	9	45%

*Source: World Military and Social Expenditures, by Ruth Leger Sivard

The Various Uses of Nonviolence

(1) FOR RESOLVING CONFLICT

A primary use of nonviolence is for problem-solving. It can be used in several ways in third party intervention to resolve conflict between two or more opponents. Examples include mediation and crowd control or riot prevention. The need for nonviolence in many other areas of police work is becoming apparent. It is useful in resolving neighborhood disputes, in stopping fights or arguments, and in handling criminals. Through the use of nonviolent methods, a community can work and learn together, becoming more of a community. Caring about each other and helping each other deters crime and acts of violence.

(2) FOR PERSONAL SELF DEFENSE

Nonviolence can be used for situations in which negotiation is not an option. As pointed out in Dorothy Samuel's *Safe Passage on City Streets*, the techniques of nonviolence have been used successfully by individuals many times to repel attackers, even armed ones. Nonviolent self defense is based upon a person's refusal to act in a victim-like manner, and involves assault prevention as well as resistance.

(3) FOR SOCIAL PROTEST AND REFORM

The movement of Gandhi to free India from English control and that of Martin Luther King, Jr. to free blacks from oppressive cultural patterns in the United States are classic examples of the use of nonviolent methods for social protest and reform. They were both successful against vastly stronger forces. Even one person can begin a nonviolent struggle against something she or he feels is wrong. Growing support may become wide enough for success. Nonviolent resistance can be for change of government as in India or for reform of government as in the U.S. It confronts established authority in either case but seeks a just and stable society rather than disruption. Nonviolent change will relieve the tensions, frustrations, and injustices that are the causes of war and violence.

(4) FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE

More and more people are realizing the impracticality of military defense as we are urged to spend more and more of our tax dollars for military related expenses. Risking one million Americans' deaths in a nuclear war is not a practical defense. Nuclear deterrence does not promote national security. It threatens it. Every arms race has ended in war, not peace. The arms race continues. Its tremendous cost impoverishes the country and the world. Yet we spend more and more because we do not realize that nonviolence has defended countries successfully. Norway's and Denmark's defenses against Hitler's army and Czechoslovakia's defense against the 1968 Soviet invasion are examples. To use nonviolence in this manner requires a new national policy decision because so many people must become involved in a trained, disciplined effort. An invading army cannot subjugate a country whose people resist nonviolently together.

Our education and culture have emphasized the military or violent history of change. If we are to have peace and security, we must teach and develop the history and the practice of nonviolence.

SESSION 17: NONVIOLENCE AND CURRENT EVENTS

Goal: To gain insight and skill in creative nonviolence through problem-solving exercises involving current events.

Materials: Articles on violence and nonviolence from current newspapers or magazines
A worksheet for each participant (see next page)

Reading due: Each participant is to find and read one article about violence or nonviolence.

Plan:

A. Ask participants to look over the news stories they have brought in and to tell or write on worksheet what types of violence are described in each. (NOTE: the facilitator should supply extra articles for people who missed the last session or have brought inappropriate articles. See also option 2, below.) (15-20)

Ask participants to break into groups of four persons according to their interest in topics from the list. Each group then chooses one or two articles to work on, answering the questions on the worksheet for this session.

B. Ask small-group members to share with the larger group what they have learned from the analysis of the news stories. Discuss members' feelings about violence in the news and about violence that does not get reported. This may involve focusing on one particular issue of interest, or covering a number of related topics such as crime and our response to it or media use/portrayal of violence. (20-25)

C. Make assignments for the next session:
   1. Continue journal writing.
   2. Reading.
   3. Think about what you would like to write about in a letter to the President, your federal or state senator or representative, the school principal, or the editor of a local paper.

Optional sections:

1. Quick question if evaluation time is needed: What would you like to see happen in this workshop before it ends?

2. In some situations, it may not be possible or advisable to have participants find and read articles ahead of time. In this case, provide a newspaper for each small group and ask members to find examples of all three levels of violence. then each group can pick one article and proceed as in Section A above.

Session 17

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE
CURRENT EVENTS WORKSHEET

1. State the facts:

   a. What violence occurred in your article? What type of violence was this?

   b. What nonviolence occurred? What nonviolence principles and techniques (what types of nonviolence) were used?

   c. What was the initial conflict about (why did the violence occur)?

2. How could this problem be solved?

   a. How do you think the initial conflict could have been confronted and resolved nonviolently?

   b. How do you think nonviolence could be used now (or at the time the article was printed) to resolve or improve the situation?

   c. If you were in a position of power (tell what this position would be) in this situation, how would you choose to handle the present conflict situation?

3. Anything else you learned from this case study:

SESSION 18: SYSTEM NOT WORKING? OR NOT WORKING THE SYSTEM?

Goals: 1. To understand the importance of actively seeking alternatives to violence.
2. To learn how to influence the U.S. political system through effective letter writing.

Materials: Paper, pens, envelopes, and stamps for writing letters.
List of addresses: the President, legislators, editors of local newspapers, the principal of of the school.

Reading due:
"How to Write Members of Congress and the President" and "How to Write a Letter to the Editor"

Plan:

A. Rotating "fishbowl" discussion. (20-30)

A small group in the center discusses an issue while others watch and listen. When a "fish" finishes talking (no time limit), s/he goes back and sits on the outside and someone else "swims" in. Encourage everyone to take a turn in the "fishbowl" once. A person can go into the "fishbowl" a second time if s/he wants to if nobody who has not had a turn is waiting to get in.

NOTE: A good "fishbowl" size is three to six persons, depending upon the size of the entire group. The object of this discussion style is to allow for small-group discussion dynamics while allowing the whole group to hear and interact together. It helps sometimes to start the game with the quieter members of the group in the "fishbowl," if it seems that they would be less willing to jump in later.

Discussion topic: How do community and national and international affairs affect our lives, and why do people become involved in them? How and why should we be involved?

B. Discuss with the group the readings on letter writing assigned for this session. Briefly discuss issues in the community, nation, or school that participants might write about. Go over the lists of names and addresses, helping people identify their own legislators. Ask each participant to select an issue and a name from the list. Give people plenty of time for writing their letters. Emphasize that this is both an exercise and a real letter. Be sure to mail all letters immediately after the session. (10-20)

(Session 18. continued)

(B) NOTE: In groups of high-school or younger students, it is important to address letters to the editor to "Young People Write," because they are much more likely to be printed in this column. Emphasize that no letter will be seriously considered for publication if it lacks a legible, correct address, name, and phone number.

C. Make assignments for the next session:
   1. Reading: Look over readings and other course materials; evaluate them. In your journal, note what you have liked and disliked, and what parts should be expanded or eliminated.
   2. Write in your journal a few phrases (notes) about what you think a world without weapons would be like and what you would be doing if you lived in such a world.

How to Write to Members of Congress and the President

• Make your letters brief, legible, with names and addresses spelled correctly. Come to the point quickly, using bill numbers if known.

Senator _____	Representative _____	President _____
Senate Office Bldg.	House Office Building	The White House
Washington, D.C. 20510	Washington, D.C. 20515	Washington, D.C. 20501

• Begin with a positive statement about a vote or stand made, where possible. Encourage continued leadership.

• Raise appropriate questions, but deal with only one subject in each letter you write.

• Give reasons, in your own words, for the positions you take. Draw upon personal experience, or enclose relevant information.

• Be timely. Write about a bill or issue which is currently being discussed in Congress or in the media. Explain why you are concerned about the issue at this time.

• Individually written letters are far more effective than petitions, postcards, or pre-printed notes. Phone calls and telegrams are more expensive but also very effective. Personal visits are best of all.

How to Write a Letter to the Editor

• Use a typewriter, double-spacing if possible. Otherwise, write neatly in ink, with plenty of space between the lines.

• Express yourself clearly and briefly on only one topic. Use short words, short sentences, short paragraphs for easier reading.

• Plan your first sentence carefully. It should be short and interesting and clearly express what your letter is about. If possible, begin with an expression of appreciation, agreement, or praise. Ending with a constructive suggestion is also helpful.

• Avoid violent language or accusations.

• Help supply the truth—information that may have been omitted or slanted in news reporting. A relevant personal experience, if concise, can be helpful.

• Appeal to the reader's sense of fair play and justice and caring.

• Sign your (real) name and give your full address and telephone number. The editor is likely to call for verificaiton of the letter's source.

• Don't give up looking for your letter—it may take several days for it to be included. Try again if your first is not printed. If you are a student (high school or younger), it is helpful to indicate this on you letter. There are often special young people's sections in the paper from time to time.

SESSION 19: IMAGING A WORLD WITHOUT WEAPONS

Goals: 1. To imagine how our world would look without weapons.
2. To discuss what steps each of us could take to help move the world away from violence.

Materials: Chart on board or easel, chalk or markers and paper.
List of local and national groups working on peaceful change.
Lists of other resources.

Reading due: Review course readings

Plan:

A. Imaging a world without weapons. Introduction: (20-25)

> This session is based on a much longer workshop, "Imaging a World Without Weapons," developed by Elise Boulding and Warren Ziegler and others. What we will do today is just a small taste of what could happen in a longer session.
>
> We are going to transport ourselves in an imaginary time machine into a quite different world: thirty years in the future, in a world where violence exists, but people have made a conscious decision to abolish weapons. It is important that we really "live" in this world--we speak in the present tense ("it is," rather than "it will be/should be"), not as if we are planning the future.

Encourage people to really let their imaginations go--describe a world they really want to live in. After giving the group a minute or two to think (and possibly take notes for themselves), ask members to describe, in brief phrases, highlights of what they see (imagine) before them. Write all these phrases on the board. NOTE: It is helpful to ask participants to close their eyes at first.

B. Now the group members become "historians" (while still "living" in the year 2014). Introduce the exercise: (10)

> Now we become "historians." Let's look back over the last thirty years and recall what has happened at various stages to bring us to this point--to a world without weapons. For each period on this chart, we will brainstorm and fill in the column. Let's begin with the last few years, 2000-2014.

Be sure you have filled in the correct years at the top of each column before beginning the discussion. Repeat the

(Session 19, continued)

(B) brainstorming for each of the other periods, for example, 1990-2000 and 1984-1990. As the brainstorming proceeds, people will begin to see causal relationships among events and begin to move them to different columns to reflect the order in which they would have to happen.

Chart model:

2000-2014 (or 2001-2015)	1990-2000 (or 1991-2001)	1984-1990 (or 1985-1991)

C. Have group members discuss their feelings about the "imaging" (5-10) exercise. Give out the lists of resources and action groups. Ask participants to share with the group their plans/ideas for continuing to learn and work for peace and justice--specific acitons, organizations, and so forth.

D. Make assignments for next session--the last session:
   1. Fill out the "How Do You Usually Handle Conflicts?" worksheet a second time, and compare your answers with those from the first time. OPTIONAL.
   2. Bring in something to share for a nonviolent celebration: homemade treats; biodegradable, homemade decorations; non-disposable dishes; cooperative games, and so forth.
   3. Fill out the evaluation sheet and bring it to the next session.

Optional Sections:

1. If more time is available for Section A, have participants divide into small groups with particular focuses: education, recreation/family life, governance/conflict resolution, defense/security systems, transportation/communication, and so forth. Each group then describes in more detail the way the world looks in its particular field, and reports back to the whole group at the end of the exercise.

2. If time is available, especially if long time periods elapse between sessions, have participants divide into pairs and begin to evaluate the course in preparation for the next session.

SESSION 20: CELEBRATION

Goals: 1. To evaluate the course and make suggestions for improving it.
2. To celebrate our friendship and our growth in nonviolent living.

Materials: Extra evaluation forms.
Nonviolent party food, decorations, and games.

Reading due: "How Do I Ususally Handle Conflicts?"--reread it.
Evaluation sheets (to be filled out in advance, if possible).

Plan:

A. Evaluation. (10)

What activities and resources were most fun/useful? Which could be improved/added/left out?

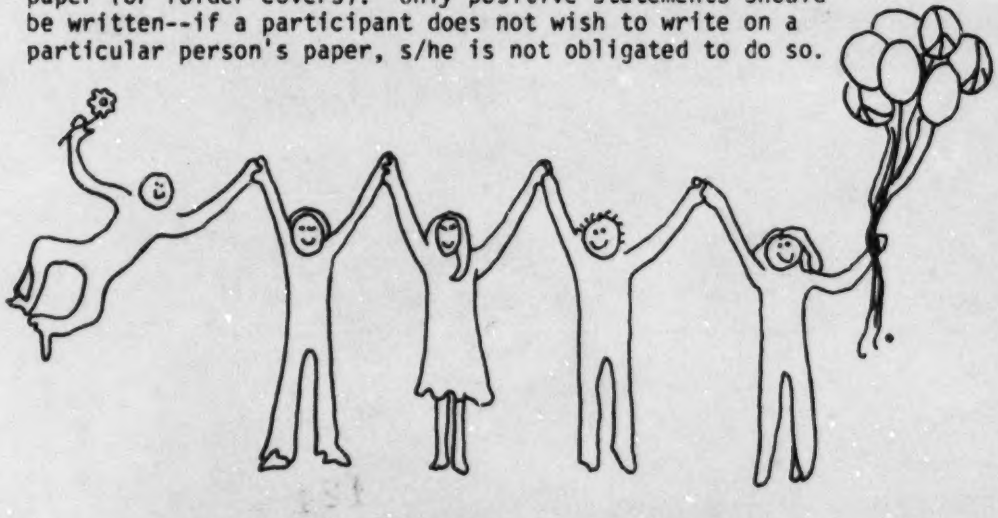
Discuss this as a group (facilitator taking notes), and then hand in evaluation forms.

B. Goodbye celebration. (30)

Participants share the decorations, treats, and games they have brought, indicating a new awareness of nonviolent alternatives.

Optional Section: Affirmation sheets.

If the group is interested, have each participant put a blank sheet of paper with her/his name at the top (OPTION: use ATV folder covers) on her/his desk. People walk around the room and write or draw positive, affirming words, phrases, or pictures on each other's sheets of paper (or folder covers). Only positive statements should be written--if a participant does not wish to write on a particular person's paper, s/he is not obligated to do so.



ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE EVALUATION SHEET **SESSION 20**

(1) How have your attitudes changed toward violence and nonviolence since this course began and why? What in particular have you learned?

(2) What did you like best about the course (what specific exercises, readings, etc) and why?

(3) What topics were not covered enough or would you like to see added?

Which topics could be left out or shortened?

(4) What would you most like to see changed in the course and why?

(5) Other comments or new ideas:

(6) Location of course and name of teacher/facilitator(s):

Please return to: Alternatives to Violence
10916 Magnolia Drive
Cleveland, OHIO 44106
(216) 231-4245

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

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ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE
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ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE GLOSSARY OF TERMS

ACTIVE LISTENING--Making a conscious effort to hear, understand, and respond to what is said.
ACTIVE NONVIOLENCE--(DIRECT ACTION)--Denotes a wide range of methods of confronting conflict which do not use any violent force: examples include strikes, sit-ins, boycotts, rallies, street theatre, personal witness, letter campaigns, leafletting, etc.
AFFIRMATION--The assertion of the positive value of a person or idea.
AMERICAN--Is used to denote any one of th following: a Native American (an "Indian"); a citizen of any part of North, Central, or South American continents; (and/or) a United States citizen.
ANARCHISM--"A doctrine advocating the abolition fo government as the indispensable condition for full liberty." (The Random House Dictionary)
ANTISEMITISM--Systemmic and/or individual discrimination, prejudice, or persecution against Jews.
ARBITRATION--Binding settlement of a dispute by an impartial third party (an ARBITRATOR), for example by a judge or jury.
ASSERTIVE--Stating positively but without aggression.
BOYCOTT--To join together in refraining from dealing with or buying from.
BRAINSTORM--To freely share suggestions, inspirations, or ideas without discussion or evaluation.
CAPITALISM--An economic system based upon private ownership for profit of the means of production and their products.
CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE--Nonviolent refusal to obey a law (intended to influence government policy).
CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE (NONVIOLENT NATIONAL DEFENSE)--Nonviolent protection (as, of a homeland) by non-military personnel, usally an entire able population.
CLASSISM--Systemmic and/or individual prejudice against or oppression of people on the basis of their lesser wealth, education, or social status.
COLLECTIVE--Non-hierarchical group organization or process.
COMMUNISM--The theory and economic system of collective ownership of the means of production by a local community with all members sharing in the work and the products.
COMPROMISE--The process of mutual concession to resolve differences (conflict).
CONFLICT--Opposition of actions or ideas; a problem or disagreement.
CONFRONT--To face or meet (as, a problem); to deal with.
CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR--A person who is unwilling to participate in war and/or the military for reasons of personal belief about violence.
CONSENSUS--General Agreement; willingness of all members of a group to go along with a particular solution or action.
COOPERATIVE (COOP)--An association formed to help its members buy, sell, or live jointly to better mutual advantage; a communally owned and run operation.
DEHUMANIZATION--The deprivation of human qualities, rights, or understanding.
DEMOCRACY--Government by elected representatives of the people; a country with democratic government where all citizens have equal rights and opportunities.

DIFFUSE--To scatter, dilute, or confuse a problem so as to make confrontation less likely and resolution impossible or postponed.
DILEMMA STRATEGY--A nonviolent action strategy of creating a situation wherein the party in power has to choose between alternatives it might not consider advatnageous. For example, if the government chooses its party line, it will appear unfair, and if it chooses to recognize/give in to the demonstrators, it will feel it is losing power. Setting up a dilemma for the party in power means it will be more likely to change/negotiate with its opponent.
DISARMAMENT--Reduction in the size and/or equipment (weapons) of the armed forces.
DRAFT--To select persons for mandatory service in the armed forces.
EQUITABLE--Fair and just, distributed on the basis of need.
ESCALATION--An increase in the magnitude or intensity; a build up making resolution more difficult.
FACILITATOR--A person who helps a meeting or negotiation to run smoothly and effectively; one who disencumbers group process (FACILITATES) to make way for mutually satisfying conflict resolution and action.
FASCISM--Totalitarian and unresponsive governmental system.
FEMINISM--1: The doctrine advocating equal social, economic, and political rights for women. 2: The assertion of the importance of processes, work, and ideas traditionally considered "feminine." 3: Opposition to patriarchy and patriarchal forms of behavior.
GENOCIDE--The systemmatic and planned killing of a racial, political, or cultural group of people.
GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY--The feeling of obligation to be concerned with the welfare of the earth and its inhabitants, including outside national boundaries.
HETEROSEXISM--Systemmatic and/or individual persecution, discrimination or prejudice against homosexuals, and sometimes suspected homosexuals and bisexuals.
HOLOCAUST--1: Any widespread destruction, especially by fire. 2: The Holocaust refers to the genocidal incarceration and murder of Jews and others by the German Nazi state, 1933-1945.
HUMAN RIGHTS (CIVIL RIGHTS)--Just claims for equitable legal, economic, and social power in a society or country.
IMAGING--A technique of picturing and depicting verbally our dreams or ideas.
IMPERIALISM--The policy or practice of extending or trying to extend the dominion of a government, ideology, or nation over a widening territory.
INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE--The deprivation of any person or group of their basic human rights or needs, imposed or condoned by an institution or society.
MEDIATION--Helping to settle differences by having someone (a MEDIATOR) go between opposing parties, negotiating with each and suggesting non-binding resolutions.
MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX--The private corporations and governmental institutions which control and equip the U.S. military: mainly the Pentagon, the Department of Defense, the Department of Energy (nuclear weapons and research), and the private contractors which operate military production plants for a profit.
NEGOTIATION--Discussion "with a view to reaching agreement" (Webster's New World Dictionary); talking about a conflict where both parties give and take to reach a resolution.

NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER (NIEO)--A United Nations study and campaign for redistribution of world resources: poor nations would be paid more for the raw material and labor they provide to wealthy nations, international loans would be reexamined so as to be less harsh on developing nations.
NONCOOPERATION--A kind of active nonviolence entailing a (usually collective) refusal to help or work together with an institution or group in power.
NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION (NGO)--A group working to resolve international problems which is not directed, paid, or sponsored by any government.
NONRESISTANCE--A conscious, usually pre-planned response to violence entailing not opposing or protecting oneself. Commonly used by activists demonstrating against institutional violence as a response to physical retaliation by police or bystanders.
NONVIOLENCE--Confrontation of violence with intent not to injure and/or rectify injury or injustice.
NUCLEAR FREEZE PROPOSAL--A proposal fo an immediate moratorium on all further production, development, or deployment of any nuclear weapons. It has been proposed unilaterally (U.S. only), bilaterally (U.S. and U.S.S.R.), and multilaterally (all nuclear weapons producers).
OMBUDSMAN/OMBUDSWOMAN--A public official responsible for fact-finding to aid conflict resolution: s/he investigates complaints from private citizens and/or consumers, especially those involving abuses of power by government officials.
OPPRESSION--"Exists when any entity (society, institution, group or individual), intentionally or unintentionally, inequitably distributes resources, maintains inflexible or unresponive structures, refuses to share pwoer, and/or pursues an unclarified mission while ignoring diversity, for its own supposed benefit, and rationalizes its action by blaming or ignoring the victim." (--Jean Alvarez) Synonym: Institutional Violence.
PACIFISM--A belief that disputes should be settled by nonviolent means.
PEACE--Freedom from violence and war and the causes thereof.
PEACE CHURCHES--The three Christian churches, Society of Friends (Quaker), Brethren, and Mennonite, which hold pacifism at the core of their religious philosophies.
PEACEKEEPER--(once called PEACE MARSHALL) A person at a demonstration or convocation responsible for helping to resolve problems peacefully and preventing violence.
PEACE RESEARCH--Investigation and study into the causes of and alternatives to war and other violence and into how to encourage peace and nonviolence.
PLURALISM--The doctrine or belief that there is more than one kind of "correct" or "good" person or way of life.
PREJUDICE--Preconceived or biased, usually unfavorable, ideas about a person, group, or place.
RACISM--The systemmic and/or individual persecution, discrimination, or prejudice against a person or group on the basis of race, specifically of persons with dark skins by people/groups wiht white or other-colored skins.
RAPE--"The crime of having sexual intercourse with a woman forcibly and without her consent." (Webster's New World Dictionary); the act of a man forcing any sexual contact upon another man, woman, or child.
ROLE PLAYING--A learning technique in which two or more people act out characterizations of other people or other communication styles.

SATYGRAHA--The Indian word for Truth-Force, or nonviolent action, coined by Mahatma Mohandas Gandhi.
SECURITY--"A feeling of being free from fear, danger, etc." (Webster's New World Dictionary)
SEXISM--Systemmatic and/or individual discrimination or prejudice against women; the devaluation of people, objects, and ideas considered "feminine."
SIMPLE LIVING--Reducing one's detrimental effect upon the world and its finite resources by, for example, growing own food, buying direct from producers, recycling, etc.
SOCIALISM--The theory and political-economic system of society/government ownerships of the means of production and distribution, in which all members are required to work and are paid equally.
STREET THEATRE (GUERILLA THEATRE)--A nonviolent action strategy in which a person or persons performs a skit and/or wears a costume(s) to dramatize and explain a problem or viewpoint to the public. Takes place in public places or on the street.
STRIKE--Nonviolent refusal to continue to work until a problem is resolved. Types of strikes include the following:
Hunger Strike--To refuse to eat until a problem is resolved.
One-hour (One day) strike--To stop work for a pre-determined length of time as a protest or warning.
Sit-down strike--to occupy a workplace or other institution while refusing to work or support it.
Walk-out--To leave in the middle of a meeting or workday to protest what goes on there.
Wildcat strike--A strike which is illegal and/or not sanctioned by a recognized union.
Work slowdown--To slow or impede, rather than stop, work.
TAX RESISTANCE--Refusal to pay taxes as a form of nonviolent civil disobedience. WAR TAX RESISTANCE, then is the refusal to pay the percentage of one's taxes which would go to fund military operations (past, present, and future). This is illegal. See also World Peace Tax Fund.
TOWN MEETING(also called PUBLIC MEETING, OPEN MEETING)--A community gathering to learn about and discuss an issue of concern.
TRANSARMAMENT--The period and process of conversion from a national security system based on military force to a nonviolent civilian-based defense system.
TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATION (MULTINATIONAL)--A business which operates in more than one country (for example, mining or growing raw materials in one country, and refining and selling them in another, or shipping parts to another country to be assembled by a less-paid labor force than the home country's).
VIGIL--A nonviolent watch or silent demonstration to protest, honor, or express concern, and sometimes to encourage others to do likewise.
VIOLENCE--Force used to injure or take advantage of someone; hurt imposed. Types of violence include physical, verbal, psychological, and institutional (incl. oppression).
WORLD FEDERALISM--The belief in or practice of world government.
WORLD PEACE TAX FUND BILL--If passed, this bill would make possible legal conscientious objection to war taxes: taxes of a conscientious objector which would have paid for war would instead go into a federally administered World Peace Tax Fund, working to end the causes of war.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE APPENDIX 1: DESCRIPTION OF GAMES/REFRESHERS

These are quick "energizer" games to liven up class sessions and build community in the groups. They are chosen because of their liveliness, but also because theya re non-competitive: nobody loses. Some of the games are specifically learning experiences in themselves, because they necessitate cooperation for success. These games are listed first. The others are included simply because theya re fun, energizing games. It is important that class sessions be fun and involving for students of all ages. Instead of seeing these games as incidentals which take time away from the "real" work at hand, it is important toview these as part of the process. Additional nonviolent games are described in A Manual on Nonviolence and Children (Judson) and A Friendly Classroom for a Small Planet (Prutzman).

COOPERATIVE GAMES

Knots--Participants gahter close together in the middle of the room. Each person closes her/his eyes and grasps two hands with her/his two hands. Then open eyes and make sure of two things: nobody has the two hands of the same person, and nobody has the hand of the person right beside her/him. Now begin to untangle the "knot": with some cooperation, the group can be untangled into a circle. Nobody is allowed to let go of the hands they are holding, but they can turn their hands in the other's grasp. People will not all be facing the same direction in the finished circle.

Laugh (or yell, make noise, etc.)--The facilitator throws a balloon, hat, or other object into the air. While the object is airborne, participants laugh, yell, or make noise as loudly as they can. The instant the object hits the ground, all noise must cease.

Stand up--Two participants sit on the ground/floor back to back with their knees up, feet flat on the ground. Link elbows. Now, cooperatively, try to stand up, without moving feet or letting go arms. This only works if the pair cooperates. If that was easy, now try it with three and then four people together.

Sit-down--All players form a circle, standing close together. Turn to face the same direciton (clockwise or counterclockwise) around the circle, and each take a step in toward the center of the circle. On the count of three, all slowly sit down on the lap of the person behind!

One Word Story Telling--Sit in a circle. Each person says one (or two) words when it is their turn (go around the circle): together the words create an adventure story.

OTHER REFRESHERS

Prui--All players stand up and clear a big space around the group. Facilitator has everyone close their eyes, and goes around the group tapping everyone on the shoulder. the one who is to be "it" is tapped twice. The person who is "it" never makes a sound. The group mills around (facilitator: keep eyes open to seethat noone trips or bumps into anything), bumping into each other. Every time a person (except the "it") bumps into someone, s/he asks "Prui?"and the other (except the "it")

responds, "Prui." If a person bumps into the "it," and asks, "Prui?", the "it" will not resond, and the bumper becomes part of the "it." When you have found the "it," you freeze and cease making any sound. Thus, if someone then bumps into you and asks, "Prui?" you will not answer and then they are part of the "it," too. The object is to end up in a silent but amused bunch.

Na!--In pairs, each person says "Na!" (or any other nonsense syllable) to the other, as if in a conversation, one after the other, louder and louder each time. The object is to make some noise and get out some energy and even some anger.

Touch Blue--Participants gather close together. A facilitator shouts "Touch _____ (the name of any color)," and everybody touches that color on someone else. Then the facilitator shouts "Touch _____ (another color)," and everyone touches that color on somebody else, without losing contact with the first color. Continue adding colors until the group is laughing and very tangled.

Fruit Basket Upset--When participants come into the session, whisper to each one (or hand them a secret piece of paper) the name of a kind of fruit. Have several of each kind of fruit, but also several kinds of fruit in the group. At some point during the session, call out the name of one or two fruits: these people must stand up and change places. Option: before calling the name of a fruit, remove your own chair from the circle so there is one less chair than person. The person who is left standing after the mix-up or place changing (you must, of course, take a chair, too) is the next group leader or facilitator, gets a hug, or whatever.

Blob--NOTE: This is a cooperative game, but it is put last because it takes more time and more space than the other games: it really should be played outside in a wide area with clearly-defined boundaries. It is a modified tag game: one person is "the blob" S/he tries to catch others. When they are caught, they become part of the "blob" by joining hands, and they all then help to catch the remaing players. When the blob gets to be more than six people, it splits into two blobs. They still cooperate, but they do it in two or more lines instead of one.

SOME CONFLICT SCENARIOS

CONFLICTS IN SCHOOL: CHILD-CHILD

BULLY. In a school corridor, a bully knocks the books out of another child's arms. Then the bully steps on the books and laughs.

EXCLUSION. Two children are playing a game such as catch or handball. A third child comes along and asks to play, too. The first child says "no" because s/he doesn't like the third child. The second child hesitates. The game does not have to be limited to only two players initially. For this scenario, be sure to discuss afterward how all the participants felt.

INSULT. In a classroom, one child wears old clothes. Another child insults her/him consistently about her/his clothing.

POSSESSION. In school, two young children are fighting over a pencil. One accuses the other of stealing the pencil. The accused says s/he brought the pencil from hom.

CONFLICTS IN SCHOOL: CHILD-TEACHER

STEALING. Money has been stolen from the teacher's purse. One child is suspected but there is no real evidence.

TEACHER"S PET. First thing in the morning in school three girls approach the teacher saying they think the teacher is playing favorites with another girl, and they are sick of it.

LATE STUDENT. For the third day in a week, a student walks into class ten minutes late. The teacher has just finished giving directions to everyone else.

CHEATING. The teacher suspects that two students have cheated because of similar answers on a test. After checking in one of their desks and finding an answer sheet, the teacher has asked to talk with the students after class.

REFUSAL OF A STUDENT TO FOLLOW DIRECTIONS. The teacher has just asked the student to close the door. The student says "no" in a loud voice.

FIRE DRILL. There is a school rule that no one should talk during a fire drill. One child sees water on the floor and warns other. The teacher sees the child talking and says to stay after school. They are in a meeting after school.

CONFLICTS AT HOME: SIBLING RIVALRY

ONE TOY FOR TWO CHILDREN. Two children aged 5-12, are at home one evening. One child is playing with a toy. The other child comes in the room and wants to play with the same toy.

(Appendix 2, continued)

(CONFLICTS AT HOME: SIBLING RIVALRY, continued)

WHOSE BOOK? At home a younger child is looking at a book which an older child checked out from the library. The older child comes in and demands the book, saying it is hers/his. the younger child protests, saying s/he found it. The older child says the younger child can't read anyway. But the younger child still wants the book.

WHO GETS TO WEAR IT? Two sisters are getting dressed before school. The first sister puts on a sweater that the second sister says she is going to wear that day.

CONFLICTS AT HOME: PARENT-CHILD

RESPONSIBILITY. A twelve year old child wants to take on a baby sitting job to supplement an allowance. The job is for two or three afternoons a week. The parent does not know the family.

BABY SITTING. A child arrives home around five o'clock on a school day. The child has been playing with friends as usual and has come home in time for dinner, unsuspecting that anything is wrong. The mother is furious because she told the child to come straight home from school to baby sit with the younger child. The mother had a doctor's appointment.

FAMILY MEETING. A family of four is trying to figure out how to get the weekly chores done equitably and promptly. the mother has tended to just go ahead and do the chores herself. The she has become very frustrated and angry because no one helped her. She does not like asking people to help continually.

PRIVACY. A parent has found cigarettes in a child's pocket while doing the laundry. The parent does not approve of the child smoking and is upset that the child is being secretive.

CHILDREN'S CONFLICTS OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL OR HOME

MORAL DILEMNA. One child's mother has told the child never to climb trees again because she is afraid the child might get hurt. The child has promised not to climb trees any more though the child is very good at climbing and loves it. On the way to school the child and a friend see a kitten caught in a tree. Both children are afraid that the kitten will fall. The friend fear heights and has never climbed a tree. Even though the first child knows how to get the cat down, the promise made earlier still remains.

PROBLEMS WITH BIGGER KIDS. 1.A small child is playing on the street with a new bicycle. A bigger child comes along and tries to take the bicycle away.

PROBLEMS WITH BIGGER KIDS. 2. On the way to school an older child tries to take a younger child's lunch money.

(Appendix 2, continued)

(CONFLICTS OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL OR HOME, continued)

STEALING. At a corner store after school, one older child wants to set up a situation so s/he can steal cigarettes. S/He needs a second child to help since s/he was almost caught last time. The second child is reluctant to take the risk and feels that it is not right.

ADULT CONFLICT

STEREO. A roommate and friend are listening to a record on the stereo that they really want to hear. The other roommate wants to study.

NEIGHBORS. There is a crab apple tree on the property line bordering two families. One family wants it for their children to climb. The other family would like to prune it and harvest the apples from it. The first family does not want spray on the tree. The two couples are trying to determine together what to do with the tree to everyone's satisfaction.

SUBWAY. On the bus or rapid transit, early in the evening, you see four teenage boys begin to bother someone on the train. They are calling the other person names, tapping her/him, and teasing her/him.

STREET HASSLE 1. You are a woman, walking home alone in the evening. A man walking along from the other direction bumps into you, seemingly unintentionally, and makes a nasty comment as he does so.

STREET HASSLE 2. It is 9:00 p.m. You are a woman walking home from the subway. Two men are close behind you. You cross the street and so do they.

THEATRE. You have been standing in front of a theatre since 7:30 p.m. for an 8:00 p.m. show. A friend has invited you to the show and has the tickets. The friend was supposed to meet you at 7:30. It is now 8:05 p.m. Your friend arrives. You can't go in until the second act.

EXTORTION. You are walking along the street and someone comes up to you and demands your money. The person is much bigger than you and says that s/he has a knife although you do not see it.

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